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The COMMUNIST

VOL. VII AUGUST, 1928 NO. 8

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Big Business Can't Lose in 1928 — *Benjamin Gitlow*
Giant Power — *Bert Miller*
Three Strategies in the New Bedford Strike — *Albert Weisbord*
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For Vice-President — BENJAMIN GITLOW

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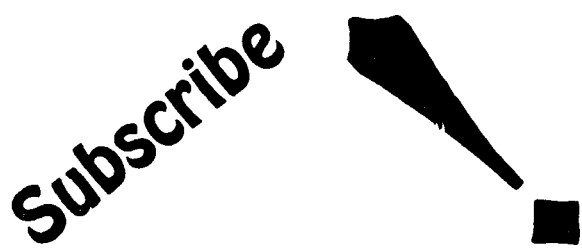

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Published by the Workers (Communist) Party of America

BERTRAM D. WOLFE, *Editor*

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BEATRICE CARLIN, *Business Manager*

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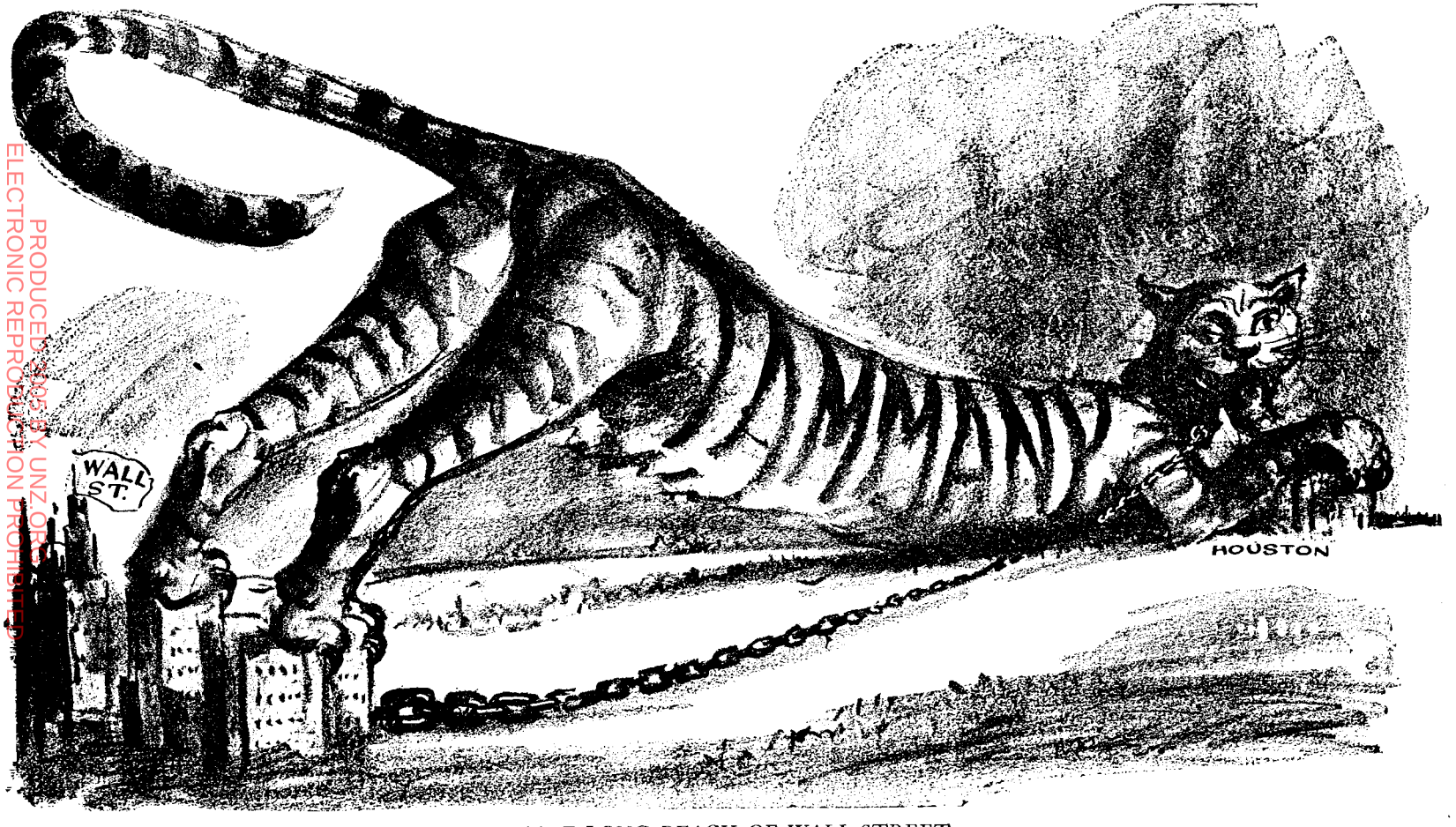

THE LONG REACH OF WALL STREET

BY FRED ELLIS

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Big Business Can't Lose in 1928

By BENJAMIN GITLOW

WALL STREET has nothing to fear from the outcome of the 1928 Presidential election. Never before in the history of Presidential campaigns was there expressed such confidence in the political outlook by the representatives of finance and industrial capital.

THE VERDICT OF WALL STREET

The Magazine of Wall Street, in an article on "Business and the Campaign," in its July 14th issue expresses the views of Big Business as follows:

"The plain fact is that our two great parties are both conservative in general tendency and present control. Business need fear neither as a party and may consider them merely as necessary parts of the mechanics of elections and representative government, and of the profession of politics."

That is the verdict of Wall Street. It is very clearly and plainly stated. The two old parties are conservative. Their tendency is conservative. They are controlled by conservatives. No danger of progressivism or radicalism in either. Wall Street business need fear neither. The two old parties, the Democratic and Republican Parties, are almost as alike as two peas. Big capital controls both and determines the policies of both. As ruling parties in the last 15 years these parties have been the loyal and obedient servants of the big banking institutions, trusts, industrial and commercial combines of the country. This accounts for the confidence of Wall Street in both parties.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF BIG BUSINESS

The present period in the U. S. is one in which there is going on in finance and industry a rapid consolidation and centralization of capitalists' interests thru mergers resulting in the formation of huge super-trusts, powerful financial and industrial combines representing billions in capital.

Big Business cannot tolerate any petit-bourgeois opposition to trusts. Anti-trust laws, trust-busting threats etc., are tabooed now. Wall Street now demands full public approval and endorsement of its super-trustification movement. The attitude of the two old parties on the trust question is viewed as follows in the same article:

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"Big Business will see a threat to its programs in the Democratic declaration for enforcement of the anti-trust laws and the enactment of others 'if necessary,' which will not be entirely removed by the promise to 'encourage business small and great.' Having regard to the tenuous relation of platforms to their realization there is little in the Democratic position regarding 'trusts' to cause serious alarm. On the other hand, it will be noted that the Republican platform is plankless on this subject."

It would appear that the threat of the Democratic Party platform to the trusts is proof of an anti-trust position on the part of the Democratic Party. But the Magazine of Wall Street knows that plaform declarations are one thing and acts another. "There is no cause for serious alarm" says the Magazine of Wall Street. Of course not, because the platform declaration is only an appeal for petit-bourgeois votes. The leading figures of the Democratic Party, including its Presidential candidate, Alfred E. Smith have gone out of their way to prove to Big Business, to the super-trusts, that they will be served as well if not better by the Democratic Party than they have been in the past by the Republicans.

The declaration of the Democratic Party to encourage business, great and small, is a promise to encourage Big Business—not to stand in the way of the merger movement, of the formation of the super-trusts and all that that entails.

ADMINISTRATION *"BY BUSINESS"*

The following quotation from the same article is a frank and clear statement of the attitude of Big Business to the two major candidates Hoover and Smith.

"A Hoover administration might and probably would be more of a pro-business administration than a Smith administration but either would be an administration by business."

We will again hear in this campaign the promises of the capitalist politicians that they will give the people of the United States a representative government,— a government by the people. But Wall Street knows better. Wall Street knows that whether Smith or Hoover will be elected, the administration will be an adminstration *by business*. "By business" is a frank expression. Regardless of the outcome of the Presidential elections, the government will be run by business and for business. That means by Big Business,—by the super-trusts, by the imperialist masters of America, by Wall Street. It means an imperialist régime and a strike-breaking régime. The dominance of Big Business, its dictatorship, will be supreme.

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ENTER THE POLITICAL ENGINEER

U. S. imperialism is bringing about very significant changes in the political organizations of the bourgeoisie. The leaders of Big Business, of the super-trusts, of the huge financial institutions, their engineers who are experts on rationalization, the direct agents of finance capital who serve the interests of U. S. imperialism abroad, are coming to the forefront as leaders of the Republican and Democratic Parties. The day of the professional politician who rose from ward heeler to governor and president is coming to a close. The last outstanding figure of that school brought up from the slums and underground world of New York, bathed in the holy water of Tammany local politics, corruption and graft is Alfred E. Smith. But his Party and Tammany Hall are undergoing a deep and fundamental change. The elements that are now coming to the forefront in the capitalist parties were always satisfied before to remain in the background, to pull the strings of the puppet politicians they directed. They were afraid to appear too openly before the masses as the actual rulers of the country. The petit-bourgeois opposition to the trusts, and the ill repute of Wall Street, the strong position of the petit-bourgeois professional politicians in the two parties, the Democratic Party, dominated by southern agriculture, responsive to the petit-bourgeois elements of the cities that supported it, made it a risky proposition for Big Business to openly parade its control and dominance of the government.

Now this has been changed. The industrialization of the south has shifted the control of the Democratic Party of the south away from agriculture to industry. The industrial and financial interests in the Democratic Party of the north have formed a union with the same interests of the south with the result that the old Democratic Party with its populist sentiment, demagogic denunciation of Wall Street, anti-tariff, anti-trust agitation, is dead and buried. The same interests that now dominate the Democratic Party are the elements dominating the Republican Party. The result is there are no fundamental issues dividing the two major parties. On all important questions they agree, with this difference: The Democratic Party must still, because of its past traditions in its platform, hypocritically appeal for the votes of the mass of petit-bourgeois opposition to big capital, making sure, however, to give guarantee to Big Business that it has nothing to fear.

The tremendous growth of U. S. imperialism, with its tremendous financial and industrial institutions at home, and its

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varied and multiple interests abroad, involving billions of dollars, have necessitated a strong centralization of governmental powers, the central government being vested with the responsibility of representing and protecting the imperialist interests in the U. S. and all over the world. The government's role in imperialist policy is of first importance. It is of paramount importance. The affairs of central government can no longer be entrusted to professional politicians who have had little or no actual contact and experience with imperialist ventures or Big Business. With rationalization in industry the policy of U. S. imperialism is becoming rationalization in government, in the control and direction of the two major political parties.

Mr. Hoover, the agent of U. S. imperialism, an expert on rationalization, an engineer, is the candidate of the Republican Party for President. It is interesting to note that Hoover's status as a Republican or Democrat was not established until recently. When U. S. imperialism was using Wilson, Hoover supported Wilson. For over 20 years, the major portion of his active life, Hoover was sowing the interests of U. S. imperialism abroad. The bankers and industrialists appear openly as the directors of the Republican Party. Mr. Atterbury, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, a most bitter opponent to trade unionism, is the leading figure of the Republican organization of the industrial State of Pennsylvania with its coal, steel, textile and railroad interests.

BIG BUSINESS TAKES CONTROL

Big Business is now preparing to take control of the affairs of the government publicly and to direct it openly through its experienced agents and engineers and through the leaders of Big Business itself.

Mr. Hoover, the efficiency expert, the eliminator of waste, the engineer, the direct agent of U. S. imperialism abroad, is a figure of the new type in politics. Hoover knows U. S. imperialism. He does not have to be directed. He can direct himself. It is this type that is coming to the forefront. The old politician, the good fellow who rubbed shoulders, mixed and made friends and had no other qualifications, is being relegated to an inferior position. The leadership is being taken by the new types, the Hoovers, the Mellons, the Atterburys, the Fullers, etc.

How has the Democratic Party been transformed? The New York *Times* claims the Democratic Party is a made-over party. In the issue of July 15th, the *Times* puts it editorially as follows:

"Instantly came the transformation. A party which, at least

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since 1894, had chosen the radical phase of economics, the bureaucratic phase of law and regulation, and the paternalistic view of national morals, had its mind and its garb changed in two days. The head of the largest corporation in the world, himself one of the richest men in America and a member of citadel clubs of Republicanism, was put in as National Chairman by Governor Smith."

The *head of the largest Corporation in the World*, himself one of the richest men in America and a member of citadel clubs of Republicanism, became the national chairman of the Democratic Party. This is the new type in the Democratic Party also. A feature article in the New York *Times* of July 15, entitled "Raskob is a New Type in the Political Field" views the significance of his appointment as National Chairman of the Democratic Party as follows:

"The selection of John J. Raskob, Vice President and Chairman of the Finance Committee of the General Motors Corporation, as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee to manage the Presidential campaign of Governor Alfred E. Smith, is another example of the entry of a new type into politics.

The Republicans, in bringing Andrew W. Mellon and Herbert Hoover into the political field from their respective vocations of finance and engineering, set the precedent in late years. So now there is the unusual spectacle of the leader of one of the most powerful manufacturing companies in the world—who should by all the rules be a high-tariff Republican—leading the Democratic forces. A citizen who voted for Coolidge, one of the biggest of Big Business men, one entirely new to politics, will battle in what may be one of the most closely fought contests in our political history."

Party affiliations now mean nothing. Big Business is stepping directly in and controlling both Parties. Mr. Raskob is head of General Motors, one of America's super-trusts. Mr. Raskob is head of a corporation which is built up on rationalization, mass production. Mr. Raskob is the financial head of a corporation not controlled by the Dupont and Morgan interests. No second-rater taking control of the Democratic Party but a leader of Wall Street, a leader of a super-trust, an associate of the Duponts and Morgans.

It is the trend of the times as far as the capitalist parties are concerned that the Democratic Party of the State of New York is considering as its candidate for Governor, Owen D. Young, of the General Electric Corporation, engineer, agent abroad of American imperialism, leader of the power interests. This is the new type again. No behind-the-scenes arrangement. Big capital stepping in directly and itself running the affairs of government.

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HOW WILL THE WORKERS FARE?

What does this mean for the Workers? It means, first, regardless of which party wins, the Republican or Democratic Party, Hoover or Smith—Big Business, the super-trusts, Wall Street, U. S. imperialism will win.

It means further centralization of the government as a center of imperialist power, of the dictatorship of finance and industrial capital.

It means the most brutal use of governmental power against the workers in the interests of U. S. imperialism. Wage cuts, rationalization and all its consequences to the workers, government by injunction, use of troops, smashing of trade unions, denial of freedom of speech, etc., will be the active role of the centralized government against the workers.

It means increased militarization of the country. Large armies, large navies, large air forces and the development of the chemical war apparatus of the government. It means preparation for the future war into which American imperialism is driving the world.

It means an even more aggressive and bloody imperialist policy—The rape of Latin America, the crushing of Nicaragua, the strangling of the Philippines, and the crushing of all revolutionary aspirations and movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. It means hostility to the Soviet Union and participation in the war preparations and attacks on the part of the imperialist powers upon the Soviet Union.

To sum up, it means the imperialist masters and their financial and engineering experts taking up publicly and openly, the direction of the government in the intrests of U. S. imperialism. U. S. sham hypocritical democracy is now being exhibited in all its nakedness for what it is, the dictatorship of Big Business, the oppressor of the workers and poor farmers, the government of, by and for the imperialist masters of America.

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Giant Power

By BERT MILLER

SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS has declared that the so-called "power trust" dictated the choice of Mr. Hoover as the head of the Republican ticket and was instrumental in fashioning the party platform. The New York *World* states editorially that "this nation is now on the threshold of a new power era." The power octopus stretching its tentacles over the country is today the instrument of that "financial oligarchy, imposing an infinite number of financial ties of dependence upon all the economic and political institutions of contemporary capitalist society without exception." (Lenin.)

The development of the power industry under the direct control of the big banks is slowly but surely clutching in its firm network every branch of American industry and economic life.

It would be a mistake to give the impression that we are on the eve of the creation of some new grouping, known as the "power trust" which is challenging other financial groups for domination. On the contrary, the so-called "power trust" is simply the newest and highest manifestation of the increasing control of our industrial life by a few big banks. Hence it reflects more sharply the characteristics of concentration and centralization and because of its reliance upon franchises, land grants, water-power rights, etc., the closest identity with local, state and national government.

Since the days of the legal plunder instituted by the railroad bandits, Jay Gould, James J. Hill and John Jacob Astor, no industry offers a better example of "the close personal union" of big business and government than does the power and public utilities industry. Its growing importance and influence on American politics makes it a factor which we consider most seriously in our present election campaign.

GROWTH OF THE INDUSTRY

Some idea of the recent growth of the power industry can be obtained from figures given in "Power Control" by Raushenbush and Laidler, who call attention to the claim "that there are over seventeen million domestic lighting customers of the power and light industry, that there were sixty-three million people, over

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fifty-four percent of our total population, living in electric lighted dwellings in 1926. . . . In 1925, 190,000 or about three percent of the nation's six and one-half million farmers, had electric service from private central power stations." From 1921 to 1927 the energy sold for industrial power increased in millions of kilowatts from 17,400 to 38,486 (over 100 percent in seven years), while the energy used for electric railways increased in the same period from 4,600 to 7,350 (in millions of kilowatts) . . "Five states have almost half of the nation's steam and water power used in manufacturing establishments." According to the authors these states are Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Illinois and Massachusetts. (The political influence of these very states in the conventions of the two major parties is more than a mere coincidence). "We are just beginning to see that not a light will burn, not a wheel turn in the whole country, without increasing the industry's claim upon the national income."

According to an article by Senator George W. Norris in the July issue of *Plain Talk*, the industry is concentrated in the hands of a few powerful combines. He says, "The consolidation of corporations supplying electric power has advanced so swiftly that today 41 companies control four-fifths of all the electrical energy developed in the United States. Out of some 68 billion kilowatt hours of electricity produced in 1926, these 41 corporations produced 54 billion kilowatt hours. These 41 corporations have a total capitalization of $10,200,000,000. They completely monopolize all the sources of electric power for four-fifths of our people. Eighty-six million Americans must get electricity from these 41 corporations or go without."

"Of these 41 corporations, some 29 are known to be owned or controlled by five central companies. The five dominant interests are the General Electric Company, the Doherty, Morgan and Ryan interests, all of New York, and the Insull interests of Chicago. It is probable—though it cannot be proved—that the remaining 12 electric corporations also are dominated by these five holding companies."

POWER AND POLITICS

At the XV Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Bukharin declared, "The concentration and centralization of economic life is advancing with seven-league boots. We might even affirm that there is taking place a 'trustification of the State power itself,' i.e., that the State power of the bourgeoisie is becoming more than ever dependent on the great and powerful capitalist concerns or combinations of con-

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cerns. *There is a process of concrescence between the employers' organizations and the State apparatus.*" (My emphasis BM). Nowhere is this process more clearly exemplified than in the American power industry and its relation to the American government.

Mr. Norris in *Plain Talk* states it in the parlance of an American politician this way: "Let me state first that power already is in politics. It has always been in politics. The Power Trust mixes into politics in the election of every Board of Aldermen in the smallest village in the country. It is in politics in the election of every Governor. It is in politics in the election of every member of the House of Representatives and every Senator. It contributes liberally in every presidential campaign. And it never expends a cent that it does not expect to get back—and actually does get back with enormous profit on the investment."

Let me quote a few examples of Americans who link up power and politics conspicuously:

REPUBLICANS

Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, the big boss of the Republican Party.—"The Mellon interests of Pittsburgh are represented in the United Gas Improvement Company, as they are in the Consolidated Gas, the Brooklyn Edison, the Brooklyn Union Gas, the American Light and Traction Company, the United Light and Power and other interests. The merger, according to the New York *Times* (Sept. 24, 1927) 'places the Mellon family and its affiliations in an unequalled position in the Eastern public utility field.'" (Raushenbush & Laidler). N. Y. *Times,* May 2, 1926, "Utility operating companies in which they (the Mellon interests) are represented have book assets in excess of $150,000,000, while power projects in which they are interested involve an outlay of more than $270,000,000."

Colonel John H. Finney.—"By 1914, Mr. Finney was manager of the Washington office of the Aluminum Company of America, and is listed by Dr. Kerwin (of Columbia University) as among those who represented the power interests. He has been active in this relation ever since. In 1926, a powerful lobby killed the Walsh resolution for an investigation of the Aluminum Trust, which is dominated, of course, by the Mellon Brothers of Pittsburgh." (Bulletin 115 Natl. Pop. Gov. League).

George B. Cortelyou, former Secretary of Commerce under President Roosevelt, then Secretary of the Treasury, ex-Chairman of the National Committee of the Republican Party, President of the Consolidated Gas Co. and director in 19 other gas and electric

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corporations of New York, including the N. Y. Edison Co., chairman of the Joint Committee of National Utility Associations, representing utility corporations with an invested capital of 17½ billion dollars.

Irvine L. Lenroot, former U. S. Senator, Republican of Wisconsin, "appeared as chief counsel for the Joint Committee of National Utility Associations (electric, gas and street railways.) He conducted the hearing and made the chief general argument for his clients." (Bulletin 115, at the recent Senate Hearings).

Paul S. Clapp, executive director of the National Electric Light Association.—"Prior to taking his position with the NELA at a salary of $25,000 per year, Mr. Clapp was Power Secretary to Hon. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce." (Bulletin 115).

Stephen Davis, counsel for Joint Committee of National Utility Associations, solicitor of the Department of Commerce under Secretary Hoover, resigned 1927 to accept this position.

Charles S. Whitman, former Governor of New York State.

William L. Ransom, former chief counsel of the N. Y. Public Service Commission.—"Whitman, Ottinger, Ransom, Coulson & Goetz, New York. Corporation and utility lawyers. This firm was organized and began business in January, 1919, immediately after Hon. Charles S. Whitman and Hon. William L. Ransom had on October 31, left the offices of Governor of New York and chief counsel to the Public Service Commission respectively. The firm began as counsel for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, and with Mr. Ransom as valuation and rate lawyer for the Consolidated Gas Co. of which Hon. George B. Cortelyou, former cabinet officer, was and is president, it has prospered since. . . . For the past seven years Ransom has been one of the most effective utility lawyers of the country." (Bulletin 115.)

DEMOCRATS

Owen D. Young, chairman of the General Electric Company, a very close advisor of Governor Smith.

Thomas Fortune Ryan, called Murphy's boss in Sulzer impeachment proceedings, a heavy contributor to the Democratic National Campaign Fund in 1900, New York traction millionaire, copper millionaire, director of Montana Power Co.

Samuel Untermeyer, prominent Democratic attorney, and millionaire, counsel for Equitable Life Assurance Society, formerly controlled by Ryan. Recently counsel for the Transit Commission.

Nicholas Brady, contributed $25,000 to the Democratic Party in 1912, controls the Brooklyn Edison Company.

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George R. Van Namee, campaign manager for Al Smith, a member of the New York State Public Service Commission, instrumental in raising fares in almost every city in New York State.

William H. Kenny, controlling owner of the Third Avenue Railroad, and heavy contributor to the Smith campaign fund.

Herbert Lehman, chairman of the finance committee of the Democratic Party is a member of the firm of Lehman Bros., bankers. Members of this firm are directors of the following firms: American Light and Traction Co., Consolidated Gas Co. of N. J., Empire Gas and Fuel Co., Southern Light and Traction Co., Power and Mining Machinery Co.

John J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic National Campaign Committee, Chairman of the General Motors Corporation and Vice President of the DuPont De Nemours Co., which is associated with the Aluminum Company of America (a Mellon firm) and the General Electric Co. (Morgan) in control of the Frontier Power Corporation. One of the largest power corporations in New York State.

Gerhard M. Dahl, contributor to the Democratic Party, director and large owner in the B. M. T., also director in the Alabama Power Co., Alabama Traction, Light & Power Co., Electric Utilities Corporation, Lehigh Power Securities Corporation.

IMPARTIALS (?)

Samuel Insull, powerful utility magnate, contributed $125,000 in primary election in behalf of Colonel Frank Smith of Illinois (Democrat), exposed as financing both a Democrat and Republican in the primary elections.

H. H. Vreeland, head of the former Metropolitan Railways of N. Y. C. contributed in 1902 and 1903, from $20,000 to $25,000 to the Republican Party, and from $17,000 to $18,000 to the Democratic Party. (Testimony before Senate Committee.)

As Mr. George Brennan, Democratic nominee for the U. S. Senate from the State of Illinois, recently testified, "Many power industries and financiers give to both parties and even to factions in both parties." (Quoted from Raushenbush and Laidler.)

The people "have yet to learn that the power trust has in active operation a most powerful political organization. That it has thus far played Republican politics nationally and gone in for Democratic or Republican Party politics in cities and states as best served the interest of the local party machines." (Bulletin 120, National Popular Government League.)

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Lest my list be incomplete, I must not forget to add two power lobbyists who trace their lineage to that other defender of the capitalist order, the Socialist Party. Mr. Frank Bohn, former member of the Socialist Party, is the author of two clever pamphlets against the Boulder Canyon bill and is employed in the New York office of the Joint Committee of National Utility Associations. John Spargo, a renegade of the same ilk, is the writer of many articles, which are given wide circulation by the power interests.

According to Mr. Judson King, "A partial survey shows that 141 political jobs of 27 varieties, from a Southern Democratic city boss to the treasurer of the Republican National Committee have been, or are, held by the 274 utility attorneys whose names are appended to the memorandum against the Walsh resolution for the investigation of the Power Trust. (Bulletin 115.)

Among those who appeared against the Walsh resolution in behalf of the power interests were holders of the following political offices: Member State Public Utilities Commission 6; Governor 2; Candidate for Governor 4; State Supreme Court 5; Lower Courts 13; Attorney General of State 7; Assistant Attorney General of State 10; County and city attorney 16; United States Senator or Congressman 6; Candidate for United States Senate or House 6; Miscellaneous federal offices 18; Miscellaneous state offices 6; Mayor 5; State Legislature 16; Party committee, state or county 5; Delegate to party state convention 4; Delegate to party national convention 5.

The investigation of the publicity methods of the power interests, which has been undertaken by the Federal Trade Commission discloses the fact that newspapers, professors, engineers, authors and lecturers were secretly employed or subsidized, for the purpose of disseminating false information favorable to the power trust. It was revealed that not less than $1,500,000 had been expended for this purpose thus far, which was distributed in such a way as to poison the channels of information in every part of the country. There is no doubt that this tremendous propaganda machine, the like of which has never been equalled since the last World War, will be utilized to the full in the coming election campaign for the purpose of insuring the election of the candidate of the power interests.

HOW SHALL WE FIGHT THE OCTOPUS?

Senator Norris, so-called progressive, proposes government competition, to fight the Power Trust. "Then and then alone," says he, "can we have real economic freedom and at the same time end

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the most threatening present menace to our political liberty." In other words Mr. Norris proposes that the government of Mr. Mellon, the power magnate, shall enter into competition with the power interests, that the dog shall bite his own tail.

Messrs. Raushenbush and Laidler go into ecstasies about the proposals for public ownership and operation of the power industry, particularly in regard to the proposal of Governor Smith, in this direction. The utter absurdity of this proposition is demonstrated by the additional proposal that no less a person than Owen D. Young, chairman of the General Electric Company, shall be the Power Authority of New York State. Mellon and Young, the power magnates, as champions of the "peepul" against the power trust—can you beat that?

Of course the Socialist Party aligns itself with the progressive reformers of capitalism. Its 1928 platform demands: "A publicly owned giant power system under which the Federal government shall co-operate with the states and municipalities in the distribution of electrical energy to the people at cost."

The question of public ownership nationalization has been thoroughly discussed in Pepper's article in the June issue of *The Communist*. It will therefore suffice to quote briefly from this article: "The nationalization of all industries is the first basic step towards Socialism. But it cannot be realized except by a workers' government. A workers' government cannot be established without a proletarian revolution. A workers' government is an empty phrase without the destruction of the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, without the building up of the State apparatus of the workingclass in the form of Soviets."

GIANT POWER UNDER PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

That progress in the field of power development in the interests of the masses of the people is possible, is amply proved by figures from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the face of physical and technical difficulties unheard of in the United States. The following table will give some idea of the rate of progress, as taken from "Economic Statistics of the Soviet Union":

PUBLIC UTILITY PLANTS

Year	Production (kw. hours)	% increase over previous yr.	% increase over 1913
1913	690,000,000	—	—
1922-23	814,000,000	—	18
1923-24	945,000,000	16	34

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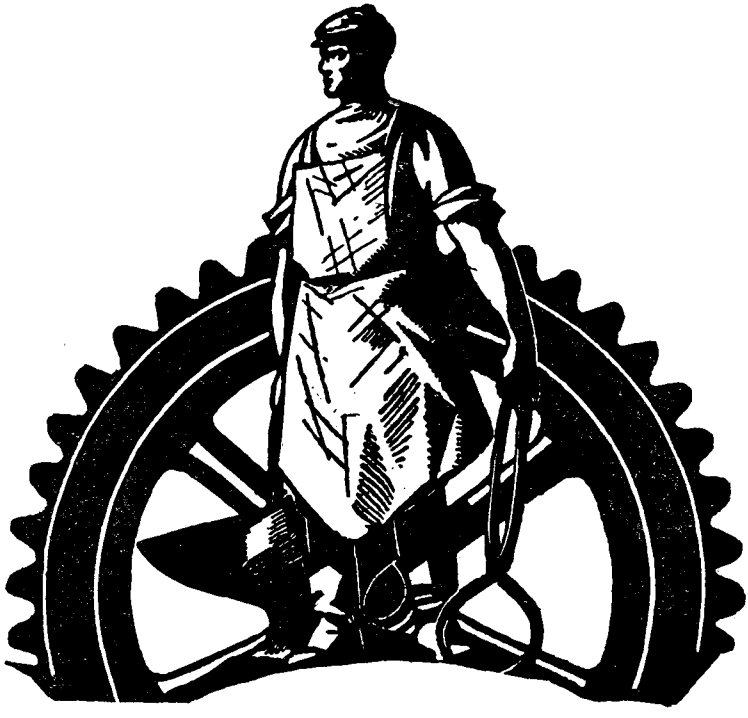
1924-25	1,217,000,000	39	73
1925-26	1,590,000,000	30	103
1926-27	2,100,000,000	33	136

This table indicates a growth of 118 percent in five years. At the same time the following power stations are now under construction, which will equal in capacity all of the now existing plants: Dnieperstroy, Svir, Shakhty, Kharkov, Kiev, Saratov, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Cheliabinsk, Briansk, Osinov, Gizel-Don, Rion, Dzoraghet, Novorossiisk, Krasnodar, Grozny, Batum. The Dnieperstroy project is to be somewhat larger than Muscle Shoals, and larger than any power plant in Europe.

There are no Mellons or Insulls to reap the profit of this development. On the contrary those who profit directly are the toiling workers and peasants of the First Workers and Peasants Republic, who are creating conditions "whereby the means of production in the hands of the associated producers are transformed from demoniac masters into obedient servants." (Engels.)



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Three Strategies in the New Bedford Strike

By ALBERT WEISBORD

THE thirteenth week of the strike in New Bedford has now seen the end of the preparatory period and the opening up of the more decisive stages of the struggle. The mill owners have decided to open up the gates of their mills and make an open test of strength.

The opening of the mill gates was forced upon the owners for the following reasons:

1. In the first place while the market has been very slow and while the mill owners had some stocks on hand, still the hundred percent shutdown in New Bedford was beginning to be felt decidedly in the fine-goods market. We must remember that 50,000 of the 110,000 fine-goods looms throughout the entire country is centered in New Bedford. Even assuming that the mills can supply the market till the late fall, still it was necessary for the mills to open up in July so as to have enough time to break the strike and get things in order for the full resumption of work.
2. Further, the political situation demanded that the mills make an effort to terminate the strike. The national campaign promises to be rather close. Massachusetts is threatened by the Democrats. The tariff issue is to be raised in the election. The most prominent mill owner is Butler who was campaign manager for Coolidge and the chairman of the Republican party for a time. Butler is also slated for an important post by Hoover if the latter is elected. This means that Butler would be a target for attack and he should be quite anxious not to have the textile strike in New Bedford drag out to election time.
3. Again, quite a number of the mills wanted to settle the strike, it seems. Originally there was quite an objection to the wage cuts by some of the efficiency engineers on the ground that the same reduction of costs could be accomplished in other ways. At the present time a number of mills have many orders on hand and they are putting pressure for a resumption of work as quickly as possible.

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4. Further, the mill owners see that their original idea of starving out the workers has failed signally. Each week the New Bedford Textile Workers Union is solidifying its hold on the masses, entrenching itself on the picket lines, building up a substantial union organization. Instead of growing weaker the union is getting stronger. A test soon had to be made as to the relative strength of the different forces in the field.
5. Finally, the mill owners feared an extension of the strike into Fall River and other places and therefore desired to terminate the strike as quickly as possible.

The immediate strategy of the employers before opening the mill gates was as follows:

1. Intensive campaign in the papers announcing the opening of the mill gates and emphasizing the full protection that the scabs would receive.
2. Entrance into the situation of the State Arbritation Board. This was designed to effect the following results:

a. To weaken the morale of the workers. To make them feel that the employers were good fellows and wanted peace. That peace was near and that therefore it was not necessary to fight so hard, to go on the picket line, etc. Finally to mask the intensive preparations that the employers were making.
b. To give prestige and standing to the reformists and reactionary officials of the A. F. T. O.—U. T. W. who had become entirely discredited. Only the officials of the A. F. T. O. were invited to the parleys of the State Board and not the real representatives of the workers. This was openly stated and when the New Bedford Textile Workers Union sent a committee to the meeting as the representatives of the vast majority of the strikers, they were refused entrance and the meeting continued behind closed doors.
c. To bolster up the waning authority of the governmental forces. Since the municipal authorities had become discredited, it was necessary to show that the "State" was better, more impartial, and fair.
d. To unify all forces against the New Bedford Textile Workers Union.
e. To put out feelers to break the strike, to bring the workers back to work under the following alternative conditions:
   1. To go back to work and have the wage matter arbitrated.
   2. To go back to work under the old scale and then arbitrate.

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3. To go back to work with a 5% or so wage cut.
4. To go back under the old scale but with the "labor extension" plan imposed, that is, under a great speed-up system.

3. While the mill owners talked peace they had meanwhile intensively prepared for war. The police force was increased by 60 mounted police to a force of 300. The National Guard was brought in by the Mayor. It is noteworthy that although every effort was made to get the National Guardsmen to volunteer as special police, it was impossible to make them do it. They were of the textile workers and said so, and they would not volunteer against their own people. Finally they had to be drafted.

The soldiers were called in: 1. to protect the scabs. 2. to frighten the strikers 3. to provoke disorder. 4. to give the impression abroad that anarchy and violence reigned supreme due to the entrance of left-wing leaders. And it must be said that the labor bureaucrats of the U. T. W. did everything possible to aid the military authorities in accomplishing these purposes. The bringing in of the National Guard was approved by Batty and the statement was made by him implying that the actions of the leaders of the union made this move by the military authorities necessary and correct.

4. At the same time the State moved to cut down relief to the workers. Hitherto the city had given some relief through its welfare and charity departments. The state now declared that moneys expended by the city for such purposes would not be reimbursed by the state, as such relief was to go to men who could not get jobs and with the opening up of the mills there were plenty of jobs and so no relief should be given. It should be noted that the sections of the workers that had applied to the city for relief were, of course, the most backward sections, those least affected by the influence of the union, and those which at the stoppage of relief would be most likely to return to work. Thus the state, at the time of the opening of the mills, had prepared as many scabs for the mill owners as possible.

The immediate strategy of the labor bureaucrats, Batty, Binns, Riviere, & Co. of the A. F. T. O.—U. T. W. can be summed up as follows:

1. In the first place it was very necessary for them to put on a more militant aspect, if they were to make any semblance of controlling the situation at the time of opening the mill gates. The proposition of the arbitration board suggesting arbitration gave these labor skates the opportunity to reject

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publicly such arbitration and to appear in the role of militant fighters. At the same time a policy was carried out of having more frequent language meetings than before and to bring in a number of organizers from New York City who were trained in fighting the militants there. The work was more greatly departmentalized. Children's and women's work were begun, etc. Finally these officials definitely attempted to take the leadership away from the new union on the picket field itself.

2. In the second place the Socialist Party was brought into most intimate collaboration. The Socialist Party was useful in accomplishing the following tasks for the labor bureaucrats:

a. In providing expert agitation and propaganda, oral and written.

b. In coordinating the work. It was the Socialist Party that helped to bring together the two bureaucratic machines of the U. T. W. and the A. F. T. O. and it was the Socialist Party that saw to it that these two cliques operated in harmony and worked together.

c. In forming the special mask of the bureaucrats and giving them better opportunity to sell out.

d. In bringing expert knowledge on how to fight the Communists better.

e. In mobilizing the widest sections of labor movement and petty bourgeoisie around the bureaucrats.

f. In nationally aiding the fakers to get more money in relief.

Against this strategy of the employers and the labor bureaucrats, the left-wing leaders put forth another strategy. This was the strategy of offensive on both fronts, increasing struggle both against the employers and against the labor bureaucrats.

1. In the strike field, the leadership of the picket lines was not relinquished. On the contrary, the picket lines grew larger and more militant and under our control completely dominated the situation. The labor misleaders of the U. T. W. had decided to picket too late. The leadership now belonged to the left wing.

To prepare for the event of the mill gates opening, the New Bedford Textile Workers Union launched a big parade. A permit was asked for and refused. The parade was attempted anyway but was broken up by the police and 31 union leaders were arrested. This only reacted against the authorities. The workers grew firmer. The middle elements swung to the new union. Following the parade a huge picnic was held. This too built up the morale of the strikers. When July 9th came around not a scab entered the mills!

2. The strike-breaking attempts of the State Board of Arbitration

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were completely exposed so that it had to withdraw from the situation at least for the time being. No Arbitration! No Compromise! These were the slogans and these were successful.

3. Against the entrance of the soldiers the new union launched the slogan "Oust the Mayor, Withdraw the Soldiers." This offensive slogan became so powerful that in two days the soldiers were withdrawn. A signal victory for the strikers.

4. The arrests of the 31 union leaders who had led the parade forbidden by the police and who had been sentenced to six months in jail each for "rioting," were countered by the following moves: a. The cases were appealed to the November term. b. A committee went again to the Mayor for a permit to parade. And this time the Mayor could not refuse and was forced to yield.

5. Against the move of the State to cut off municipal relief the union started a campaign of publicity which resulted in the city being forced to declare it would continue relief as before. At the same time, the union, with the aid of the Workers International Relief, has launched a national textile relief compaign. This should aid the strikers materially.

6. A great offensive was launched in winning new masses to the new unions:

a. Work was intensified in Fall River and many hundreds enrolled in the T. M. C.

b. Intensive organization work was launched among the tire, fabric and silk workers in New Bedford who had not yet received a wage cut but who also are ready for struggle. Excellent results have been obtained.

c. New strata of strikers were won over. Women, youth, and children's work was intensified. Over 2,000 Polish workers rallied to us through the efforts of our Polish organizer.

d. Definite inroads were made among the honest skilled workers of the U. T. W. A special meeting was called for them at which several hundred attended. A definite break has now occurred in the ranks of these misguided workers away from Batty and over to us.

e. More vigorous attempts were made to win over the petty bourgeoisie. A New Bedford Relief and Defense Conference has now been organized.

Thus as the battle continues in its decisive phase, the workers are moving to the left, the left wing union is growing. The attacks of the enemy on both fronts have been successfully countered. The strike is still on the upgrade. The union has pushed forward a new offensive. With the aid of the left-wing forces nationally, the strikers will yet move forward to victory.

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Mexico's Next President

By JANET CORK

(NOTE: Since this article was written Alvaro Obregon has been assassinated. In the next issue of The Communist we shall present an analysis of the situation in Mexico resulting from the assassination of Obregon, as well as the new alignment in the Obregon group. According to the Constitution Calles cannot be re-elected. Mexico has no vice-president. This confuses the political situation somewhat. But whoever becomes the next president, the class forces will remain the same, the conflicts between the workers and peasants and the next president—determined to build a national economy, leading to major concessions to American capital—will continue as outlined here. It is startling to note how precarious Mexican politics are. Since the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz in 1910 not a single president has died a natural death except Victoriano Huerta, the worst Mexican butcher, who was supported by the American bourgeoisie.—J. C.).

ALVARO OBREGON was elected President of Mexico on July first. The thirty years of the Diaz dictatorship had made the Mexican people wary of re-election and in 1910 they wrote a provision in their constitution forbidding it. For seventeen years all official and semi-official correspondence closed with "Your faithful servant, *effective suffrage and no re-election.*"

But a section of the most conscious nationalistic group directed by Calles and Obregon, determined to build a national economy and a native bourgeoisie, amended the constitution to make possible the return of Obregon to power. The constitution now permits re-election after an intervening term and extends the presidential period to 6 years—"a longer period of peace between elections."

Obregon, adroit politician, brave soldier, victor of two revolutions, well disposed to American capital, stronger than ever before in his career, again takes the center of the stage. In 1910 he was a small landowner in the State of Sonora. During his first presidency he grew immensely wealthy. In the four intervening years he has added to his wealth by expropriating the best lands of the Yaqui Indians and by serving as the sole distributing agent in Mexico for the Standard Oil of Southern California. Cajeme,

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Sonora, the center of Obregon's land, is covered with numberless oil tanks and is the center of oil distribution for the Standard Oil. Shipments are made by tankers from California through Obregon's almost private port, Navajoa, near Cajeme, and recently $10,000,000 was spent on a nationwide distributing service.

During the past year, Obregon with the aid of Calles, cleared away all serious obstacles to his election. The two other candidates for the presidency, Arnulfo Gomez, representing the interests of the Catholic Church and the American oil magnate Doheny, and General Serrano, an unscrupulous soldier of fortune who took up arms against the Calles government, were both executed early this year.

The oil issue has been definitely settled in favor of American capital. In November of last year the Mexican Supreme Court rendered a decision in favor of the Mexican Petroleum Company of California—the Doheny company which some time ago passed into the hands of the Standard Oil of Indiana. Based on this decision new petroleum regulations were drawn up. It is an open secret that those were prepared by Mr. Clark, Ambassador Morrow's legal adviser, and later approved by President Calles. These regulations grant every request of the foreign oil interests regarding pre-1917 property rights. The American ruling class had high praise for Ambassador Morrow "who settled the petroleum controversy." In return for this capitulation the Mexican government was granted a suspension in the payment of its debts to the international bankers.

The Church conflict, a minor issue in Mexican-American relations appears to be on the eve of settlement.

Obregon's one remaining stumbling block to a peaceful regime is Luis Morones. Morones is Minister of Commerce and Labor in the Calles cabinet; dictator of the Mexican Labor Party, the pale, weak political reflection of the Mexican Federation of Labor (Crom), run by Morones and his henchmen. He considers himself a part of Mexico's present ruling clique. He has worked with the group for over 20 years. For a long time he has waited for a "larger share of the spoils." He has had very serious aspirations to the presidency and hoped he would be the successor to Calles. Now he feels cheated, and is building an opposition to the Obregon administration.

The split between Morones and Obregon has been growing for over a year. Morones was a bitter opponent of the amendment to

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the constitution. He kept the Labor Party from seconding the nomination of Obregon, in return for which the latter split the Labor Party in many states. Morones intimated in his May first speech that unless Obregon "were as friendly disposed towards labor" as Calles was that the Labor Party could not participate in his government. Obregon countered by saying that he would not attempt to persuade the Labor Party to remain in politics. The struggle keeps getting more and more bitter. Morones called a bread strike in the capital a few weeks ago just to show Obregon how much power he still had. He threatens to call a general strike by the end of July. Obregon, in turn, has had several measures passed in Congress curtailing the power of the Labor Party. Among them are the following:

First to reduce the number of deputies from over 270 to 150. The reason given is economy; but everybody knows that this measure will greatly reduce the representation of the Labor Party in the Chamber of Deputies. The second measure suppresses the autonomous municipal governments of the Federal District and the three territories, and replaces them by a governing bureau directly under the control of the President. The Labor Party controls practically every post in these municipal governments. The new law removes them completely from power. Obregon will continue using all means at his command to destroy the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Labor Party. Morones will continue to oppose Obregon.

THE ROLE OF THE MEXICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (Crom)

The Mexican Federation of Labor under the leadership of Morones and other yellow leaders has pursued the same class-collaboration policy in Mexico as the AF of L in the United States. The CROM has broken every strike of the independent unaffiliated organizations such as the oil workers of Tampico, the Textile Workers of the Federal District, the miners of Jalisco, and the Railway Federation. The leaders of the CROM,—at the same time members of the government—found it easy to send federal troops to crush the independent strikes. As a result whole sections of CROM workers have become disgruntled with their leaders and now it is easy for Obregon and his group to disaffect the disgruntled elements.

A few months ago a united front convention of labor groups was held in Saltillo, Coahuila. Eighteen states were represented including delegates from the CROM federation of Jalisco, the independent unions of Tampico and Tamulipas, the Railway Unions, and *El Machete*, the organ of the Mexican Communist Party. This

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convention condemned the leaders of the CROM, declared themselves in favor of the class struggle, and adopted a resolution to support all strikes, whether under the direction of the CROM or of independent organizations; also a resolution to co-operate with the National Peasants League (under the direction of the Mexican Communist Party). The convention disbanded and the delegates continued spreading propaganda against the CROM leaders. This, combined with the efforts of the Obregon group, has resulted in the secession of the State Federations of Coahuila and Durango from the CROM, denouncing Morones as an agent of imperialism. Thus the disintegration of the Mexican Federation of Labor seems inevitable. The Mexican Communist Party is working to steer this membership into a single united labor federation along with the independent unions.

THE ROLE OF THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Mexican Communist Party supported the candidacy of Obregon only because he represented a more progressive tendency and because organizationally they were unable to place an independent candidate in the field. The manifesto issued stated that the large masses of workers and peasants instinctively understand that in comparison with General Gomez, Obregon was more progressive; but that, however, does not signify that Obregon represents the workers and peasants. On the contrary the more conscious workers know that once in power, Obregon will defend the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The workers have no illusions about that. The manifesto urged at the same time the building of an organization which will be able to represent and defend their own interests—to create their own political force, with their own program, with a program based upon the class struggle . . . and pointed out that for this a united front is absolutely necessary.

In the present conflict between Obregon and Morones the party has pointed out to the workers and peasants that this struggle is not based on principles of pro-labor and anti-labor but that it is a struggle between a group that represents the "national capitalist and part of the petit-bourgeoisie and a small group of labor politicians fighting for power." That Obregon does not wish to destroy the false leadership in order to build a strong labor movement but merely to destroy a rival political clique which interferes with his own ambitions; "and it is well known that there are many in the Obregon group who would eagerly destroy the labor movement entirely." The Party warns the workers of the danger of Obregon's offensive against the CROM and calls upon the rank and

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file to cast out their leaders and form, with the unaffiliated independent organizations, one united Mexican labor movement.

So accurate have been the Party's predictions of Mexican political development during the past two years, and so untiring have been its exposés of the betrayals of the yellow labor leaders that they have won an incredibly large following and many new members. Two years ago the party counted between 200 and 300 members in the entire country. This has jumped to over 1,500 dues-paying members. Their central organ *El Machete* that began with a circulation of a few hundred five years ago, has over 12,000 circulation now. The arrival of the *Machete* to the small peasant villages is like a "feast day." And the hero is the one who can read the news to the rest. In the capital the party can get from 3,000 to 5,000 to any demonstration it organizes. It controls many of the independent unions and has directors in the largest independent union—the Railway Workers Confederation. It leads the National Peasants League with over a million members, affiliated with the Peasants International, and has just elected four deputies to the Chamber.

Obregon's offensive against the CROM is directed not only against Morones and his confrères but also against the member locals. There is no question but that he would like to hand over a docile labor movement to American capital. He will find that very difficult with the growth of consciousness and the leadership of the Communist Party. Hitherto it has been the practice of Obregon and Calles to make revolutionary speeches to please the workers and peasants—and while they were off guard to hand over the country's wealth to foreign interests. It will not be so easy to fool the workers and peasants now. What tactics Obregon will use in the future remains to be seen.

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The Defeat of the Home Government in an Imperialist War

By V. I. LENIN

(NOTE: The following article by Lenin, is reproduced from "The Social-Democrat," No. 43, July 26th, 1915. In view of the approaching commemoration of the 14th Anniversary of the beginning of the World War, we believe it raises just the fundamental questions that every militant and Communist worker must be clear upon if we are to avoid repeating the terrible mistakes of 1914-18.—EDITOR.)

A REVOLUTIONARY class cannot but desire the defeat of its own Government in a reactionary war. This is an axiom. Only deliberate adherents to reactionary wars or impotent social-chauvinist lackeys would dispute it. Among the former are to be included Syemkovsky of the O. C. (No. 2 of his "Izvestia"); among the latter should be included Trotsky and Bukvoyed, and in Germany, Kautsky. "The desire for the defeat of Russia," wrote Trotsky, "is nothing but a totally uncalled-for and unjustified concession to the political methodology of social-patriotism, which instead of the revolutionary struggle against war and the conditions which give rise to it, adopts an orientation which is extremely arbitrary in the present condition and which proceeds along the line of the lesser of two evils." ("Nashe Slovo," No. 105).

Here is an example of the pompous phrases with which Trotsky always defends opportunism. "The revolutionary struggle against war" is but an empty and purposeless utterance in which the heroes of the Second International are past masters, *especially, if by revolutionary action is not meant action against the home Government in time of war.* It is only necessary to ponder over this a little in order to understand it. Revolutionary action against the home Government during the war undoubtedly, indisputably means not only to desire the defeat of the Government, but to help actively to bring about such defeat. (To the "understanding reader" this does not mean that it is necessary to "blow up bridges," organize unsuccessful military strikes, but generally to assist revolutionaries to bring about the defeat of the home Government.)

Trotsky contents himself with uttering these high-sounding phrases, and fails to see the real point at issue. He seems to

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imagine that to desire the defeat of Russia means to desire the victory of Germany (Bukvoyed and Sankovsky openly express this "idea," or rather lack of idea, from which they suffer in common with Trotsky) and in this Trotsky sees the expression of the "methodology of social-patriotism"! For the benefit of people who are unable to think, the Berne resolution (see the "Social-Democrat," No. 40) explained: in all imperialist countries, the proletariat must now desire the defeat of its own Government. Bukvoyed and Trotsky preferred to ignore this truth, while Syemkovsky (an opportunist, who by his naive repetitions of bourgeois wisdom, brings most benefit to the working class) Syemkovsky "prettily lisped" the piece of nonsense that—either Germany or Russia must win. (No. 2 Izv.)

Take the example of the Paris Commune. Germany defeated France, and Bismarck and Thiers, together, defeated the workers! If Bukvoyed and Trotsky had thought at all, they would have realized that they have adopted a point of view of Governments and the bourgeoisie concerning war, i.e., they both cringed before "the political methodology of social-patriotism" to use the high-flown language of Trotsky.

Revolution during war is civil war, and to convert the war of Governments into civil war is facilitated on the one hand by military setbacks ("defeats") of the governments, and, on the other hand, it is impossible to strive to bring about this conversion without at the same time helping to bring about the defeat.

The chauvinists (the O. C. and the Tcheidze fraction) cross themselves at the very mention of the "slogan" of defeat, because it alone implies a consistent call to revolutionary action against the home Government during war. Unless such action is taken, millions of revolutionary phrases about war "against war and the conditions, etc.," are not worth a brass farthing.

He who desires to refute the "slogan" of defeat of the home Government in imperialist war, must prove one of the following three things: (i) that the 1914-15 war is not a reactionary war; (ii) that it is impossible for revolution to result from it, and (iii) that corresponding and inter-acting revolutionary movements in *all* belligerent countries are impossible. The last point is particularly important for Russia, because it is the most backward country and the one in which the social-revolution is impossible immediately. Precisely for this reason, Russian social-democrats should have been the first to advance the theory and practice of the "slogan" of defeat, and the Tsarist Government would have been right when it said that the agitation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Fraction—the *sole* example in the International

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is not merely parliamentary opposition, but real revolutionary agitation among the masses against the home Government; that this agitation weakened "the military power" of Russia and helped to bring about its defeat. This is a fact. It is absurd to shut one's eyes to it.

* * *

Can we expect in Russia a revolutionary movement — in the bourgeois-democratic sense—which corresponds and co-operates with the socialist movement in the West? Not a single socialist has publicly expressed any doubts concerning this during the last ten years, and the movement of the Austrian proletariat after October 17th, 1905, proves *in practice* that it is possible.

Ask any social-democrat who calls himself an internationalist, whether he sympathizes with the social-democrats of the various belligerent countries coming to an agreement concerning joint revolutionary action against all the belligerent governments. Many will reply that it is impossible, as Kautsky replied in the "Neue Zeit" of October 2, 1914, and, by that, completely betrayed his social-chauvinism. In the first place, this is a deliberate, howling untruth which contradicts universally known facts, and the Basle Manifesto. On the other hand, if that were true, *then the opportunists would be right in many respects.*

Many will reply that they sympathize with such an idea. In that case we will say: if the sympathy is not hypocritical, then it is absurd to believe that in order to carry on this war, it is necessary to have a "formal" agreement: election of representatives, meetings for negotiations, signing agreements, selecting the day and the hour! Only people of the type of Syemkovsky could think of things like that. Agreements concerning revolutionary action even in a *single* country, let alone in a number of countries, can be reached *only* by force of example, by serious revolutionary action, by actually *setting to work* and *developing* this action. * * * It is impossible to "convert" imperialist war into civil war any more than it is possible to "make" revolution—this conversation *emerges* from a number of sequences of the imperialist war; but this emergence is *impossible* unless military defeats and set-backs are suffered by the governments, multiform phenomena, aspect, features and peculiarities, and con- whose oppressed classes have rained blows upon them. To reject the slogan of defeat of the home overnment means to convert revo- ultion into empty phrases or sheer hypocrisy.

What is offered to us as a substitute for the "slogan" of defeat? The slogan: "Neither victory nor defeat." (Syemkovsky, "Izvestia," No. 2, also the whole of the O. C. in No. 1). But this transfers the question to the plane of war of governments (who, according

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to the substance of the slogan should *remain* in their old position, "preserve their conditions") and not the fight of oppressed classes against their governments! This is a defence of the chauvinism of *all* the imperialist nations, the bourgeoisie of which always say—*and always tell the people*—that they are fighting "only against defeat." "The sense of our voting on the 4th of August is: not for war, but against defeat," wrote David, the leader of the opportunists in his book. The O. C.-ists, together with Bukvoyed and Trotsky, go *wholly* over to the side of David when they defend the slogan "Neither victory nor defeat."

If this slogan is well pondered over, it will be found to mean "civil peace," the abandonment of the class struggle of the oppressed classes in all the belligerent countries, for it is impossible to carry on the class struggle without delivering blows against the "home" bourgeoisie and the "home" Government; and to rain blows upon one's government during war is high treason (for the information of Bukvoyed); is helping to bring about the defeat of the country. Those who accept the slogan "Neither victory nor defeat," can only pretend hypocritically to be in favor of class war, for "breaking the civil peace"; in fact, they reject independent proletarian politics and *wholly* subordinate the proletariat of all the belligerent countries to the *bourgeoisie;* they protect their imperialist government from defeat.

The only policy of breaking the "civil peace" not in words but in deeds, of recognizing the class war, is the policy that the proletariat *shall take advantage of the embarrassment* of the home Government and the home bourgeoisie *to overthrow them.* This cannot be achieved, *it is impossible to strive towards this,* if the defeat of the home Government is not desired and if nothing is done to bring about this defeat.

When, prior to the war, the Italian social-democrats raised the question of mass strikes, the bourgeoisie, quite rightly from its point of view replied: "That will be high treason, and you will be treated as traitors." That is true, and equally true is it that fraternizing in the trenches is high treason. Those who, like Bukvoyed, write against "high treason," and, like Syemkovsky, write against the "collapse of Russia," actually adopt the bourgeois and not the proletarian point of view. The proletariat in one country *cannot* deliver class blows against its Government, (in deed) stretch out its hand to its fellow proletariat in the *alien enemy* country, without committing "high treason," without *helping to bring about* the defeat of its Government, and the *collapse* of its imperialist State.

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Those who support the slogan "Neither victory nor defeat," are conscious or unconscious chauvinists, or at best compromising petit-bourgeois, certainly an *enemy* of proletarian policy, an adherent of present-day governments, and of present-day ruling classes.

We will examine the question from still another aspect. War cannot but rouse the masses to a state of great excitement, which disturbs their customary somnolent mentality. And with conformity to these new disturbing emotions, revolutionary tactics are impossible. In what channels do these sentiments flow mostly? (1) Horror and despair. This gives rise to increased religious emotion. The churches begin to fill again and the reactionaries rejoice. "Where there is suffering, there is religion," said the arch-reactionary Barres, and he is right. (2) Hatred for the enemy. This is an emotion that is deliberately aroused and inflamed by the bourgeoisie (not so much by the priests) which alone obtains economic and political advantage from it. (3) Hatred towards the *home* Government and the *home bourgeoisie*. This is the sentiment of the class-conscious workers who, on the one hand, understand that war is "the continuation of politics" of imperialism and retaliate to this by "continuing" their hatred towards their class enemy, and, on the other hand, understand that the slogan "War against war" is but a senseless phrase without revolution against the *home* Government. It is impossible to rouse hatred towards the home Government and the home bourgeoisie if their defeat is not desired and one who is not hypocritically an opponent of "civil (class) peace" cannot but strive to rouse hatred against the home Government and the home bourgeoisie.

The advocates of the slogan "Neither victory nor defeat" actually are on the side of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, have "no faith" in the possibility of international revolutionary action of the working class against their Government, and *do not desire* to aid the development of such action—a task which is indisputably a difficult one, but the only socialist one and one worthy of the proletariat. Particularly the proletariat of the most backward of the belligerent countries, especially after the shameful treachery of the German and French social-democrats, should have come out in the person of their party with revolutionary tactics, which, however, are impractical without "helping to defeat" the home Government, but which alone can lead to the European revolution, to the stable peace of socialism and to the emancipation of mankind from the horrors, the misfortunes, the savagery, and barbarism which now reign.

July 26, 1915.

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Youth and Industry

By NAT KAPLAN

FOR the coming Presidential elections the Young Workers (Communist) League not only raises a series of demands pertaining to the enfranchisement of youth, hours, wages, youth protection, vacations and apprenticeship, but also raises the fundamental question of the young worker's position in society.

It is our contention that the young workers should not be treated as objects of exploitation (as the source of cheap labor to pile up surplus values for the boss) but on the contrary should be treated as objects of education by society (i.e. general education combined with scientific vocational training.)

We propose that this education shall be conducted by retaining the young workers in production and installing work-schools in the factories modelled on the work-schools in the Soviet Union with the *paid* attendance of all young workers between the ages of 15 and 18, the hours at school to be included in the general work week and to be graduated downward. These schools to be regulated by the trade unions, the young workers attending the school, and the factory committees of the workers. Of course in putting forward this proposal we are suffering under no illusion that there can actually be the abolition of exploitation for the working class youth, before the conquest of power by the proletariat.

EXCLUSION NO SOLUTION

This proposal naturally comes into sharp clash with the bourgeoisie and its lieutenants, the trade-union bureaucrats and the reformists. The latter two propose to solve the youth problem by ridding the industries of the young workers and they make all kinds of proposals in this respect. They approach the youth problem from the narrow craft point of view, which regards cheap unskilled youth labor as competition which can only be overcome by ousting the competitors from the industries. This attitude is concretized in the proposal made by the National Child Labor Committee and endorsed by trade-union bureaucrats to raise the legal school leaving age for young persons entering production from 14 years (the present average legal school-leaving age) to

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16 years and the keeping of these young persons for two more years out of production and in the present schools.[1]

We maintain that this proposal has nothing in common with a sound proletarian policy and is in reality a concealed attack against the working class.

PSEUDO-MARXIAN ARGUMENTS

A number of pseudo-Marxian arguments have been dug up in the effort to justify this reactionary slogan. The line of reasoning has the following content: Before the entrance of women and children into the production process the value of labor power was determined, not only by the labor time necessary to maintain the individual adult laborer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family. Machinery, by throwing every member of that family on to the labor market, spreads the value of the man's labor power over his whole family. It thus depreciates his labor power.[2]

And in order to overcome this bad capitalist state of affairs, all we have to do is withdraw the youth from production and put them back in the present schools. It would have the splendid effect of, on the one hand, giving two more years of education (!) to the young workers and, on the other hand, raising the standard of living of the adult workers since, to withdraw so much youth labor from the factory means merely that it will be replaced by adult labor or youth labor over 16 at a higher rate of wages and further that the cost of living of the youth up to 16 must now be included in the wages of the parent.

Let us tackle this line of reasoning. Firstly, it is an indisputable fact that the entrance of cheap youth labor into the labor market depreciates the value of the adult labor power and we have no quarrel with this viewpoint. Secondly, there are at least three fundamental fallacies in the above line of reasoning. They are: (1) That capitalist development can be turned on its head within the framework of the capitalist system and child labor and youth labor up to 16 years actually removed from the production process. That furthermore this would be a healthy and progressive step. (2) That automatically with the rise in the value of adult labor power, due

1. This is not to be confused with the acts now in effect in some 26 states which provide for the attendance of 16 to 18 year old young workers employed with work certificates, in Continuation Schools, for about 4 to 8 hours weekly, where they are taught mainly civics, citizenship and vocational training. One can imagine the type of vocational training these young workers get in 4 to 8 hours weekly, in a school which is divorced from production. While the real meaning of "civics and citizenship" is "patriotic buncombe."

2. Capital Vol. 1, Page 431.

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to the fact that the adult laborer has to care two more years for his child in school, that there will be a rise in the wages of the adult laborer. There is no distinction made between the value of labor power and its price (wages). (3) That the education in the present capitalist schools actually meets with the requirements of the developing young workers in society.

We repeat that it is Utopian to believe that child labor and youth labor up to 16 years can actually be abolished under capitalism. The army of youth labor is on the increase, it is a basic source of unskilled labor under present capitalist conditions. Furthermore, we maintain that it is not the participation of the youth in production that is objectionable, but it is their exploitation and their miserable lot under capitalist conditions that is objectionable.

This viewpoint was clearly expressed by Marx: "Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of human development; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalist form, where the laborer exists for the process of production and not the process of production for the laborer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery." [3]

The bad effects of youth labor's entrance into the labor market (weakened social resistance power of workers, lowering of wages of workers, etc.) cannot be overcome by any blue-print plan of expelling the youth from industry, but can only be overcome by so bettering the conditions of the young workers that they can no longer be used to compete against the adult workers. Herein lies the importance of fighting for the special youth demands not only in the coming elections but in union factories throughout the year.

Regarding the second fallacy. The wages of the adult worker do not automatically rise with the rise in the value of the adult labor power. A rise in wages is brought about through the struggles of the workers against the bosses. It has to be forced from the bosses. It would be futile to try to convince a worker striking today —not for a rise in wages, but against wage cuts—that if he sent his children to school instead of the factory his wages would automatically rise. No, the keeping of the children in school for two more years would immediately result in placing an additional burden on the proletarian family, it would deprive the family of the wages

3. Capital. Vol. 1. Page 529.

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of young workers, of that much income.[4] The National Child Labor Committee and the trade union bureaucrats completely ignore this phase of the question. They do not provide for the maintenance of the children whom they wish to keep two more years in school.

Regarding the third fallacy. Present day capitalist educational institutions do not meet with the requirements of modern young workers (and we must not forget the class character of these institutions, the patriotic and religious propaganda, etc.). These requirements can only be met by the combination of productive work with general education and scientific vocational training. On this question Marx said: "From the factory system budded, as Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of *producing fully developed human beings*."[5]

It is with this in mind that the Young Workers (Communist) League raises the issue of Work-Schools in the coming elections. We propose that the youth between 15 and 18 years of age instead of being removed from production shall be retained and they shall be paid while attending Work-Schools, which are under workers' control. This does not mean the boycott of the existing educational institutions. The continuation schools and other educational institutions should be utilized by the young workers during working hours and paid as such. At the same time we strive to have them conducted on a practical basis in connection with productive work. We never let up in our struggle against the capitalist character and capitalist teachings of these schools.

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4. It is interesting to note here that Marx came to just the contrary conclusion regarding the effects of women's participation in production on the family income. He said: "Since certain family functions, such as nursing and suckling children, cannot be entirely suppressed, the mothers confiscated by Capital, must try substitutes of some sort. Domestic work, such as sewing and mending must be replaced by the purchase of ready made articles. Hence the diminished expenditure of labor in the house is accompanied by an increased expenditure of money. The cost of keeping the family increases and balances the greater income." (Capital Vol. 1. Page 432).

5. Capital. Vol. 1. Page 529.

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De Leonism and Communism

By KARL REEVE

(*Continued from the June Communist*)

MARX AND LENIN ANSWER DE LEON

MARX's *Answer to the Anarchists* (1873), quoted by Lenin in "State and Revolution" immedately comes to mind as an answer to De Leon's misconception of the State. Marx said, sarcastically, "If the political struggle of the working class assumes a revolutionary form; if the workers, in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, set up their own revolutionary dictatorship, then they commit a terrible crime and offer an insult to principle; because, forsooth, the workers, in order to meet the miserable, gross requirements of the moment, in order to crush the resistance of the capitalist class, cause the State to assume a revolutionary and transitional form, instead of laying down their arms and abolishing the State."

No comment is necessary to show that the above paragraph is a perfect answer to De Leon and especially to the S. L. P. in their objections to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Disregarding the historical necessity for the working class to carry through the revolution and seize political power, the S. L. P., basing themselves on De Leon, would use their party to "lay down their arms and abolish the State," immediately, because De Leon's doctrine called for the immediate establishment of a classless society, mis-named "Industrial State," as soon as the "destructive act"—that is the abolition of the State, is effected by the political party. It is no accident that Marx's *Answer to the Anarchists* also answers De Leon. Marx goes on to show that the State as a weapon, an organized force, must be made use of by the workers upon seizing power, until the bourgeoisie is entirely crushed. The State does not disappear until classes disappear, for the State is nothing else but the instrument of a class in power to oppress another class. The proletarian dictatorship is only a temporary, transitional use of the political power, of the force of the State, to crush the exploiting classes and usher in the new society. Temporary, that is, in a historical sense, for the epoch of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as Lenin pointed out, will cover a number of years. Marx says, "Why do not the Anti-Authoritarians limit themselves to shouting against the *Political* authority, against the State? All Socialists agree that the State, and

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together with it, also political authority, will vanish as the result of the future Socialist Revolution, i.e., that public functions will lose their political character and will be transformed into simple administrative functions, concerned with social interests. But the Anti-Authoritarians demand that the political State should be abolished *at one blow*, even before those social relations which gave birth to the State are themselves abolished. They demand that the first act of the Social Revolution shall be the abolition of all authority."

Marx proved the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship by giving the example of the Paris Commune. Marx took lessons from history, something which the S. L. P. with its Utopian approach, fails to do. Just as the anarchists answered by Marx, the S. L. P. would "abolish the political State at one blow" and set up immediately a classless society. Basing themselves on De Leon's old program, they fail to see that this is impossible until after "those social relations which gave birth to the state are themselves abolished." And this is impossible overnight, "at one blow." It can be accomplished only after a transition period, only with the help of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. We might ask with Marx, "These gentlemen, have they ever seen a Revolution"? The S. L. P. has seen the Russian Revolution, but is blind to its lessons.

Lenin sums up Marx's teachings on the State as follows, "Marx deduced from the whole history of Socialism and of political struggle that the State was bound to disappear, and that the transitional form of its disappearance (the transition from the political State to the non-State) would be the 'proletariat organized as the ruling class' " (State and Revolution). The S. L. P., however, is incapable, because of its dogmatic insistance on De Leon's formula and its failure to understand historical materialism, of deducing anything from "the whole history of Socialism and of political struggle."

De Leon could not understand that the workers must make use of the political State in the transition period as the weapon of their class with which to complete the revolution, to abolish the remnants of the bourgeoisie, to introduce Socialism, and thus gradually evolve a classless society, during which process, after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is established, the State begins to wither away.

THE DEGENERATED S. L. P. OF TODAY

And where has this error of De Leon, rigidly adhered to and expanded, led the S. L. P. in the present period? What use has this organization made of De Leon's doctrine? The insistence upon De Leon's pre-conceived plan for carrying out the revolution—(no

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revolution genuine without the De Leon "Industrial Union" trade mark)—in spite of the lessons of the present period, has turned the S. L. P. into a sect of revisionists, mouthing attacks against the Communist International and its American Section, the Workers (Communist) Party and against the Russian Revolution, using the same arguments in many cases as are used by the reformists. The November revolution does not bear the "Industrial Union" trade mark, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was established, and hence it was "premature." The S. L. P. thus becomes violently nationalistic, refusing to learn from the experiences of the world revolutionary movement, and becomes a social-pacifist organization, against the use of armed force by the workers to establish their dictatorship, in favor only of the "civilized" method of the ballot and the peddler of revisionist forgeries of Engels' articles.

In its preface to Marx's "Criticism of the Gotha Program," (preface written 1922) the S. L. P. attempts to show that Marx's clear reference to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in this work is "only offhand and incidental." They claim it "is not an issue in this discussion," and is "merely 'pulled in' to illumine a point." The S. L. P. continues its slander on Marx: "Contrary to the dictatorship advocates of today . . . he wastes neither time nor energy upon it."

The S. L. P. pursues one of its many attacks on the fundamentals of Marxism on the basis of a suspicious ignorance when it says, "so far as we know it (the Gotha Program) contains Marx's only direct reference to and authority for the phrase, 'the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.'" The quotations given at the beginning of this article will show that the S. L. P. does not know very far, and that as far as this organization is concerned ignorance is bliss, for not only Marx, but Engels mentioned this phrase directly a number of times, and what is more important, analyzed its meaning. The S. L. P. attempts to talk away these statements of Marx by heaping abuse upon the American Communist movement, by ranting against "dictatorship" and by attempting to show the phrase was "accidental," a mere aberration of Marx's. The S. L. P. often quotes Lenin as an authority. Sometimes, it is true, the S. L. P. merely quotes a garbled version of what Lenin said, as printed by a bourgeois paper. The S. L. P. places great faith in the authority of the quotations in bourgeois papers. But the S. L. P., in its attacks on the C. I. generally quotes an isolated paragraph or two of Lenin's, ignoring, of course, the fundamental teachings of Lenin. What then did Lenin say about this "accidental" phrase of Marx's? At the beginning of chapter 5, "State and Revolution" we read, "A most detailed elucidation of this question (the economic foundation of

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the withering away of the State-K. R.) is given by Marx in his "Criticism of the Gotha Program." The polemical part of this remarkable work . . . has, so to speak, overshadowed its positive part, namely the analysis of the connection between the development of Communism and the withering away of the State." Lenin then shows how Marx not only in this one passage mentioned the Dictatorship, but also pointed out the difference between the first stages of communist society and the highest phase of communist society, what we call the difference between socialism and communism, and Marx showed how the first stages of communism fall within the transition period. Suppression, Lenin points out, basing himself on Marx's "Criticism," is still necessary in this transition period. But the suppression of the minority by the majority. Therefore the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not the State in the ordinary sense, but a transition State which when the bourgeois remnants are destroyed abolishes itself. In this period of transition the economic stage is the stage of beginnings of socialism, the stage of steps taken toward complete socialism or communism. "Finally," Lenin says, "only under communism will the State become quite unnecessary, for there will be *no one* to suppress—'no one' that is in the sense of a *Class*" (Lenin's emphasis-K.R.). Lenin then quotes Marx's "Criticism of the Gotha Program," which outlines the transition period (See *State and Revolution*, section "The First Phase of Communist Society) the very period in which Marx said, "the State can be none other . . . than the revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

"ALL RIGHT FOR RUSSIA—BUT NOT AMERICA"

The S. L. P. in this preface makes the argument that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat may be all right for Russia but in America it would be a "hindrance." We have learned these words by heart from the bourgeois and social-democratic press. In America, we are asked to believe, there is no bourgeoisie which it will be necessary to crush by armed force, there is no large army, no bureaucracy, no well organized capitalist class to be wiped out. In America, we are told, there are no masses corrupted by imperialism, which must be won over *after* the seizure of power. In America there is no 31 million farming population. In America there is no labor aristocracy, no skilled or office workers who even on the eve of the revolution will, in some part, waver. Hence here, the political power in the hands of the working class will be unnecessary. Thus does the S. L. P. flout the facts.

Substantially the same arguments are repeated in the S. L. P. Arm and Hammer pamphlet No. 8, "Workers Party vs. S. L. P."

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The valiant champion of civilization and of the "peaceful method" who is the author of this pamphlet, a nonentity who attempts to achieve notoriety by slandering Marx, proceeds thus: He cannot find substantiation for the S. L. P. theories in Marx so he distorts him by quoting an isolated sentence and drawing grotesque conclusions. He says: "Marx says in his preface to Capital: 'The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future.' He did not and could not say that the lesser developed country showed a picture to the more highly developed country. It is not to be denied that America is much more highly developed industrially than Russia. It is obvious then that if an image of the future is to be shown, Russia cannot do the showing. What we must show here is why a Soviet form of government is not necessary in America, but we will go further—we will show it is impossible to establish such a government in this country." He states further that Russia, in 1917 was a "demoralized decentralized community," backward industrially, "with medieval feudalism maintaining a strong grasp in its communities."

First to expose the distortion of Marx by this clownish caricature of his model, Kautsky, Marx in his preface to Capital, said he was illustrating the laws of capitalist production by giving examples from England, "their classic ground." But these laws, he said, hold good in Germany and the other capitalist countries. Perhaps "the German reader shrugs his shoulders at the condition of the English industrial and agricultural laborers," believing that in Germany things are not so bad. But "intrinsically, it is not a question of the higher or lower degree of development of the social antagonisms that result from the natural laws of capitalist production. It is a question of these laws themselves, of these tendencies working with iron necessity towards inevitable results. The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future."

Obviously, Marx was speaking of two capitalist countries and of the laws of capitalist development. And the author of this cheap and dishonest pamphlet tries to distort the comparison to that of a country in the first stages of socialism, where already the law of value does not operate in State-owned industries, with the most despotic imperialist country of the world. The S. L. P. distorts Marx continually, and I have exposed this putrid attack on Soviet Russia and on Marx as an example, taken from dozens of such distortions which I have read in the literature of this revisionist outfit. The author takes a reference to the fact that capitalist countries are governed by the same basic laws whether more or less industrially

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developed, those more industrially developed showing to what the others are growing, and concludes that Soviet Russia, where the workers rule, where they are building up socialism, is more backward socially than the imperialist United States. Is it necessary to point out that in the Soviet Union the workers have been freed from their exploiters? There industry and agriculture have been built up beyond the pre-war level, but not at the expense of the workers, on the contrary to their advantage. There the conditions of labor, hours, and social advantages are incomparably better than in capitalist countries. There the State and the unions pay unemployment, old age, etc., insurance. There wages are steadily rising as production is increased. There they have the seven-hour day. There the State owns the basic industries, there co-operative production and distribution are promoted by the State. And we are told in the name of Marxism that America must show them the way!

The author of this monstrosity concludes, "The Workers Party advocacy of a transition period is nonsense, as is its clamoring for a Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Then Marx and Engels speak nonsense, to say nothing of Lenin. It is very interesting to note that Karl Kautsky, after the Russian revolution, and the Russian Mensheviks, made the same argument exactly that is made by the S. L. P. that the Russian revolution is not a real social revolution because Russia is backward industrially and that therefore the revolution was "premature." Lenin replied to the revisionists that revolutions do not necessarily take place in the countries most fully developed industrially, but where the link in the chain of word imperialism is weakest. And following the world war it was weakest in Russia, due to a number of reasons. Russia was an *imperialist* and not a "feudal" country before the world war, with an industry that was highly concentrated; that is, a large proportion of the total industry was big industry, much of it built up with foreign capital. The Russian proletariat, although young, had been steeled in the 1905 revolution and in the illegal existence against Czarism. Russia must be considered as having been an imperialist country. And the fundamental laws of the transition period, laid down by Marx, apply to *all* imperialist countries. True, because of the large number of peasants in Russia, the dictatorship may last longer in Russia than in other countries, but as stated above by Marx, Engels and Lenin, in all imperialist countries the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the wielding of political power to crush the bourgeoisie, who Lenin explained are strong even *after* the revolution, is essential.

(*To be Continued*)

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Unemployment in France

By C. WHITE

UNLIKE in England and Germany, the conditions in France have not yet been ripe enough to give birth to a National Movement of the Unemployed Workers. Although in February and March, 1927, full time unemployment and partial unemployment reached figures which, in the absence of accurate official statistics, are not exactly known, but which can be placed at around six or seven hundred thousand, this situation gave rise to only a few huge unemployment demonstrations and processions in Paris and in some large provincial towns, demonstrations which did not repeat themselves because unemployment decreased considerably in the course of the following months.

However, France is soon going to be faced with an unemployment question, that will be far more acute than in February and March, 1927. In order to understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to follow the development of France since the war.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FRANCE SINCE THE WAR

(a) *Agriculture*: For almost a century, the French population has kept stagnant. The losses during the war of male adults fit to work have neither been made up by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine nor by the absorption of an increased army of foreign and colonial workers either in agriculture or in industry. (1) With regard to agriculture, various causes are given: the enormous losses of peasants and rural elements on the battlefields, (of a total of 3,586,000 peasants and rural workers, 673,000 were killed and 500,000 rendered unfit to work on the land); the absorption of rural elements by the development of French industry; the low birth rate; the mediocre standard of living provided agricultural and forestry workers; all these conditions have brought about a serious decrease in the rural population, (in 1925, more than 400,000 rural workers and peasants had gone to work in industrial towns.)

Therefore, in spite of a better rate of production per hectare (almost two and one-half acres), due to a better and more frequent use of industrial manure, statistics show a decrease in the surface of cultivated land and a decrease in cattle breeding. Moreover, in

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the course of the last four years the so-called "scissors" have also been operating against agricultural development.

(2) From 1914 to 1921, French agriculture has absorbed: 272,238 Spaniards, 41,089 Belgians, 19,191 Italians, 5,934 Poles and a few thousand Czecho-Slovakians. Since then immigration has continually increased.

As we shall see later on, an attempt is now being made to develop agriculture by the operation of a new policy.

(b) *Industry*: In contrast to agriculture, mines and French industry have developed since the war at giant strides. Formerly a country of small and fair-sized industry France has become a country of modern and heavy industry. This is due to three main reasons: (1) When during the war the German armies were occupying the industrial districts of the North and East of France, this gave rise, in other parts of France, to the development of a new metallurgical industry for the purpose of supplying war materials. (2) The Versailles Treaty gave to France the strongly industrialized district of Alsace-Lorraine. (3) With the help of State subsidies, the industries situated in the districts devastated by the war, were rebuilt and re-equipped in the most modern manner. Therefore, not only did France increase her national consumption of industrial products; (steel cars, electrical cars, ships, etc.), but she was also able to export a considerable portion of the products of her heavy and metallurgical industries.

As in agriculture, a considerable number of foreign workers have been absorbed by industry. Some of these workers had emigrated of their own free will, but a greater number had been recruited by French industrial companies. The Comité des Forges, (heavy industry) had a special organization in Italy for the purpose of recruiting Italian workers; the Comité des Houillers (mines) had a similar organization in Poland for the recruiting of Polish workers. In the summer of 1926, there were approximately two and one-half million foreign workers in all French industries, the greater number being Italians. In addition about 150,000 colonial workers, (mostly from North Africa) were also engaged in French industry. Altogether there were at this time, around 3 million foreign workers employed in French industry and agriculture . . . . One out of every 13 inhabitants of France was a foreigner.

(c) *Finances*: The following figures show the income and expenditures since 1914.

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Year	Income (*in billions of francs*)	Expenses (*in billions of francs*)
1914	4.2	10.4
1915	4.1	22.1
1916	4.9	36.8
1917	6.2	44.6
1918	6.8	56.6
1919	11.6	54.2
1920	20.1	58.1
1921	23.1	51.1
1922	24.2	48.9
1923	27.7	45.8
1924	31.1	40.2
1925	33.2	
*1926	43.34	41.85
**1927	48.	38.4
***1928	50.	41.5

In 1913 the budget amounted to 4 billion, 750 million gold francs; in 1928 the budget is expected to amount to 50 billion paper francs or 10 billion gold francs.

From 1919 to 1924 the "Bloc National" of the big bourgeoisie was in power with Millerand and Poincaré. Reaction was at its lowest ebb, characterized chiefly by ruinous loans, an increase of all taxes, the putting into operation of the income tax, the infamous tax on wages and salaries, and the flourishing of the régime of inflation. Moreover, huge sums of money were thrown away under the cloak of war compensation to big capitalists, in allowing war profiteers to plunder national and American war stocks (which had been bought by the French government), in subsidizing the White Russian Generals, Denikin, Koltchak, Yudenich, and Wrangel in their counter-revolutionary activity against Soviet Russia, in arming Poland for the same purpose, in the occupation of the Ruhr by the French army, (also the expedition into Syria) and in the building up of a flourishing French militarism, menacing world peace.

Then on May 11th, in 1924, came the General Election. The middle class were afraid of losing their bank income because of inflation, and were strongly objecting to the government income and other taxes; the working class was experiencing severe fluctuations in the purchasing power of their wages and were also greatly discontented with the alarming military expeditions into the Ruhr and Syria. This resulted in a nationwide wave of hope and enthusiasm, created by the promises of the Socialists and their allies the Radicals, which overthrew the "Bloc National" of Poincare, and brought the "great democratic victory" of the "Left Bloc" Socialists and Radi-

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*Amortization fund from August
**Amortization fund, full year
***Prospective, including amortization fund.

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cals, behind the slogan of "No reaction, no revolution." They were going to use the parliamentary machine for democracy and bring paradise on earth. The Radical Herriot replaced Poincaré as Prime Minister. But it soon became obvious to any sensible observer, that the "Left Bloc" government with the full support of the Socialists, were just as anxious as the "Bloc National" to make the proletariat pay for the billions of war debts, while not touching a cent of the fortunes of the war profiteers and post-war profiteers of the inflation period. Moreover, the Syrian military expedition was continued and the bloody and costly war with Morocco was undertaken. The fiery "Left Bloc" that had promised during the election campaign, "to get money from where money really was," forgot all about the capital levy, and preferred to resort to inflation. In doing this, they soon became the prey of the bankers who brought them to a state of panic when the Pound Sterling passed from around 70 francs in May, 1924, to 246 francs in July, 1926. Bankers, landowners and industrialists, who, while smiling at the embarrassment of the Herriot government, had made great profits during this new period of inflation, saw that it was time to put a stop to the joke when the increasing discontent of the masses became serious enough to constitute a real danger to the bourgeois régime itself. Therefore, they overthrew the "democrat" Herriot, and Poincaré came back on the stage as Prime Minister of a "Government of Stabilization," on July 25th, 1926. Poincaré being the agent of big capital, the confidence of the French bourgeoisie in the French Exchange was soon established as well as the confidence of the foreign bourgeoisie. Within a few months the Pound Sterling passed from 246 francs in July to 125 francs in December. Since then stabilization has been legally established at the rate of 124.21 to the Pound Sterling or 25.52 to the Dollar.

Poincaré established stabilization by an enormous increase of indirect taxes, the concession of State monopolies to private companies or trusts, the founding of an amortization fund, (special taxes, inheritance taxes, taxes on profits on tobacco, etc.) the cutting down of State expenditures, the purchase of gold, silver, foreign bills, etc., to strengthen the reserves of gold and securities, payments to the banks, the taking up of loans abroad and at home, the payment of inter-allied debts that were due, the transfer of short term State loans to long term loans, etc.

Sources of income such as reparation payments, tourist expenditures in France, returns from capital still invested abroad, open the possibility of a favorable trade balance. And even if France's trade balance should be adverse to a slight degree, it can nevertheless

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be said that her payment balance is sound. It is true that a payment balance depends upon a favorable trade balance, but it is also true that a favorable trade balance depends largely on exports.

A period of inflation enables industry in a given country to export commodities at low prices thus competing advantageously with other countries in the world market. But this brings about a phenomenon known in the German inflation period as "Ausverkauf" (loss in substance), which means that owing to high world prices importations of raw materials for the industries of the given country become impossible, the prices of exports are unable to keep up with the cost of imports. The result of this phenomenon in France brought about a slowing down in certain industries in the summer of 1926, as well as a restriction of credits and currency. All foreign currency which had been deposited in the banks by French industrialists for the payment of winter imports had to be sold in order to enable these industrialists to meet their current expenditures. This contributed to improving the franc on the exchange market but the country had to live for a time on her own stocks which were already considerably depleted. A noticeable "slowing down" in certain industries, notably shoes, silk, clothing, furnishings, bicycles, paper mills and chocolate, resulted.

But the disparity between home and foreign prices was tending to diminish: at the end of July, the difference was 344 points and at the end of September it was only 169 points. From that time on, prices showed a tendency to rise thus adapting themselves to the world market price. For a certain period it was still possible, in spite of the stabilized currency, to maintain exports at the expense of the peasantry, because the "scissors" in French agriculture enabled the industrialists to pay low wages to their workers. But with the approach of the 1928 General Election, the Government thought of changing these tactics which were losing for them the support of the peasant masses. In the *Bulletin Quotidien*, the organ of the "Comité des Forges," appeared a series of 13 articles, giving an outline of the new economic policy of France. The following lines are quoted from these articles:

"The basis of French economical policy must be directed in the future toward agricultural production. French agriculture must be made to supply all home needs; at the same time we must export products of high quality in order to enable industry to use our foreign currency for the importation of industrial raw material. Agriculture must be developed by the maintenance and eventually by the extension of protective tariffs on all agricultural products. Production applied to agriculture means sacrifices on the part of in-

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dustry; higher prices for raw materials supplied by national agriculture and higher wages to workers on account of the increased cost of living. The sacrifices of industry are to be compensated by the increased purchasing power of the rural population . . . in some industries financial difficulties and foreign competition will demand a temporary sacrifice in the form of reduction of wages. In order to achieve the new economic policy, we have to go through a period of readjustment during which sacrifices are unavoidable."

Thus the way was paved for a campaign to reduce wages, the suppression of the eight-hour day and particularly for the rationalization of production.

(d) *The Rationalization of Production*: As a matter of fact the road to rationalization had already been opened. In the summer of 1926, another journal, "Information", had stated: "As we have often said and as the experts' report (referring to a committee that had been appointed some months before at the suggestion of American bankers for the purpose of inquiring into methods for arresting the depreciation of the franc) shows us, the difficulties will increase when stabilization is in progress. Therefore, we can expect the coming of unemployment within a short period." And the journal "Usine," on September 18, 1926, declared quite frankly: "Each day is bringing us nearer and nearer to the time when we shall have to reduce the cost of production not only by compressing its various parts but principally by attempting to reach the maximum economy by technical improvements as well as reducing general expenses." This advice was soon to be put into effect. On November 30, 1926, the chairman of the Creusot (the metallurgical trust of Schneider and Company) declared at the stockholders' meeting that the concern would distribute no dividend that year "in order to participate in a movement of re-grouping and concentration of business." (This explains how Mr. Citroen, the Henry Ford of France, who, some months after, attempted to sell 300,000,000 francs worth of shares to the government in order to remain independent, was forced, after his failure, to sell the above shares to Schneider and Company and thus to come under the direct control of the Schneider Trust.)

At the same time, Kuhlman, magnate of the French Chemical industry, was getting a loan of 15 million francs from Switzerland, for the formation of a gigantic French-Belgian Trust in ammonia and industrial manure.

Again, we read in *L'Information*, "that in order to get productive undertakings they should be selected according to the Darwinian Law which eliminates the weak." These "selections" and "concentrations" have been going on in industry ever since and are still

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in progress. They have even gone beyond national boundaries when an international grouping of steel magnates known as the "steel cartel" was set up. One of the purposes of this cartel was to limit the steel production of France, Germany, Belgium, the Saar and Luxemburg to conform to the needs of public consumption. But the production of French heavy industry which in 1926 had been equal to that of Germany (12% of world production), decreased 8% in 1927 while German output for the same period increased 33%. Cuvelette, President of the North and East Steel Company, blamed Poincaré's financial policy for this decrease of 8% saying: "The adaptation of our prices to the stabilization rate (124.21 francs to the Pound Sterling) is rendered difficult by the fact that this stabilization rate runs below the rate of production." And this disparity is likely to continue. As Mr. Cuvelette pointed out: "Everything leads us to believe that the year 1928 will be more severe than the year 1927."

In addition a German-French agreement on customs duties was made, allowing certain German products to enter France under favorable tariff arrangement and certain French products (particularly in the heavy industries) to enter Germany in the same way. This creates the possibility for the penetration of the French market by those German industries engaged in the fabrication of steel and similar products, thus throwing French workers in these industries out of work. A similar situation is created on the German market by the penetration of French products of heavy industry. And this creates a tariff war between France and the United States which may end as things did in 1914. (Meanwhile the discontent created in America by this German-French agreement was one of the reasons why Poincaré did not succeed in re-opening negotiations with the United States on the question of war debts.)

Having given a survey of the economic development of France, we shall be in a position to describe the post-war unemployment situation.

(*To be concluded next month.*)

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Notes on American Literature

By JOSEPH FREEMAN

WHEN people speak of "Literature", they generally refer to belles lettres, especially to the better type of novel, short story and poem. In this sense, "literature" is of little consequence in the life of the American masses. There is no comprehensive study of what the workers and farmers of the United States read, but the fact is that the overwhelming bulk of printed matter in this country does not consist of belles lettres. Most residents of Main Street have never heard of Sinclair Lewis and most workers are unfamiliar with Upton Sinclair's name. The chief ingredients of the people's "artistic life" are not belles lettres but newspapers, cheap magazines, radios, phonographs and movies. Europeans who read fairy-tales about the "land of boundless possibilities" often forget that the majority of Americans are absorbed in the struggle for bread and butter. A conservative economist estimates that 80 percent of the population make only a little over their expenses.

This hardly leaves room for the "life of leisure and imagination" out of which literature is supposed to have flourished hitherto. Workers and farmers who have the time and inclination for more than newspapers, magazines, movies and jazz, read adventure novels or sentimental romances like the books of Zane Grey and Harold Bell Wright. The literature of Dreiser, Lewis, Cabell and Anderson to which critics refer forms a tiny island in the vast sea of American printed matter.

A thorough analysis of the United States as reflected in the written word would involve a study of a colossal industry which is based on mass production, division of labor, a highly developed technique, standardization of idea and form, and gigantic advertising campaigns based on effective psychologic principles. Even without such a study, however, it can be noted that literature, in the sense of belles lettres, plays an insignificant role not only in the life of the masses but even in the life of the big bourgeoisie and the professions. There is no writer in the United States today whose position is in any way comparable to that of Gogol, Dostoievsky or Tolstoy in their time; nor has any American writer the same weight in public affairs as Bernard Shaw in England or Romain Rolland

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in France. An infinitesimal part of the American people reads the American novelists and poets, and "literature" is a decidedly minor cultural factor in the land of radios and Fords. If there is any point to the intelligentsia's satire against the babbitry it is precisely that the American businessman despises an art which at one time played a significant role in European culture.

On the whole, Americans do not look to novelists and poets for guidance in life, profound insight into the human mind, or the imaginative solution of social and personal problems. The big bourgeoisie relies rather on science and technique; while the middle classes and workers seek it in non-literary publications like the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *American Magazine*, *Psychology*, and *Popular Science Monthly*; and in the works of Elinor Glynn, Gene Straton Porter and Will Durant, whom no serious literary critic includes in his estimates. The labor movement finds itself even less in belles lettres. If the American trade-uion leaders, socialists and communists are in any way affected by the novelists and poets, they fail to show it. America has no Nekrassov or Gorki; and the revolutionist, like the bourgeois, at bottom despises a form of expression which cannot have any noticeable influence on production, wages, or political alignments. The "good writers" find their readers chiefly among the middle-class intelligentsia, women with a longing for "culture," students, Bohemians, and other writers.

Several critics are acutely conscious of the feeble position of American belles lettres, though none so far has shown with any thoroughness the connection between this feebleness and the economic milieu in which America belles lettres live. A study is needed of the overwhelming influence on the "better class of books," of such phenomena as mass literacy, multiple presses, high power advertising, fat royalties for the vulgarisation of ideas: in short, the "rationalization" of the publishing industry. Certain American critics have observed the pressure of commercialism on literature. Van Wyck Brooks has written a book showing how the desire to become a millionaire "like other people" crippled Mark Twain's genius; and another book showing how the shallow "spiritual life" of America drove Henry James to England and sterility. There is also the case of Jack London, who despised himself as a writer in a milieu of colossal action; and there is the complaint of Upton Sincair in *Mamonart* and *Money Writes* that sooner or later the passion for money and power drives American writers to sell themselves outright to the bourgeoisie. The attitudes of these men are based on *ethical* assumptions. For them it is not primarily a question of a social-economic organism moulding the minds and actions

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of writers, but merely of the "moral weakness" of writers in surrendering to the desire for money and power.

In other quarters, however, there is a growing consciousness of the effect on belles lettres of the spread of science and technology. It is becoming clearer and clearer that the intellectual youth of America, whether Left or Right politically, has a greater regard for the psychology of Freud, Watson and Pavlov than for the psychology of the best American novelists; that sports furnish an outlet for energies which in other times and lands express themselves in artistic forms; that the aviator Lindbergh and other "heroes" featured in the press capture the popular imagination far more than any character in fiction or poetry; and that belles lettres remains the work of a small and not very influential class.

This is perhaps true today not only of the United States but of nearly every country in the world. A New York literary publication recently printed an article by the French poet Paul Valery in which he said that perhaps with the old arts succumbing before science and the machine, literature may become a mere sport, like tennis or golf.

With such considerations in mind, it will perhaps not be necessary to add that these notes deal with a slight fragment of American literature in the widest sense of the term. The vast bulk of printed matter, perhaps more important from a sociological point of view, must be disregarded. Here reference is made to a few writers of belles lettres in so far as they reflect, from a distance, certain social tendencies in American life. Naturally, a consideration of the social aspects of any art does not exhaust the subject. American literature can be best understood in the light of American economics; yet this would reveal only the *anatomy* of literature; its feeling would still be lacking, and the flavor of experience which literature gives us—as distinct from information, which is the business of science—would be lost altogether. Here, too, however, the tremendous production and consumption of printed matter in the United States is of prime importance. The greatest wealth the world has ever known is concentrated in America, and the consequent "free energy" is reflected in belles lettres, as well as newspapers and magazines. Novelists, biographers and "philosophers" who have the good fortune to become best-sellers make money far beyond the expectations of even the greatest European talents. Successful American authors do not have to sell their private libraries like Andre Gide, and successful European authors like Emile Ludwig and Count Keyserling, after achieving fame on the continent can cash in on it in New York.

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THE "WILSONIAN" LIBERALS

The writers who reflected the deflated "liberalism" of the Wilsonian era have reached their zenith; many of them have passed it. No new developments can be expected from most of them, though they continue to create. Dreiser has published a series of articles, most of them friendly, on his recent visit to the Soviet Union. It is said he plans to issue a book of stories about women, much like his "Twelve Men," but his philosophy, individualistic through and through and permeated with the raw determinism of nineteenth century Darwinists, cannot go much further than the *American Tragedy*. Sinclair Lewis has just published a brilliant satire on the babbitry entitled "The Man Who Knew Coolidge"; but this is an extension of the mood and method of *Main Street* and *Elmer Gantry*, and merely carries to a more precise point the post-war dissatisfaction of the liberals with the crudeness of the American scene. The Wilsonian poets—like Carl Sandburg, Edgar Lee Masters and Vachel Lindsay—are silent as poets, though Sandburg continues to publish a column of political and economic gossip in a Chicago newspaper, and has issued an excellent collection of American folk-songs. The Mencken vogue seems to be waning; and of him, too, it can be said that he has no new word beyond his contempt for the American masses, for democracy, prohibition, and the Methodist church. If he has changed at all, it is in his cynicism about university professors. The *American Mercury* which he edits, carries a disproportionate number of contributions by academic gentlemen.

Sherwood Anderson has quit publishing novels and stories altogether. He has retired to a small town in the mountains of Virginia where he owns and edits two weekly newspapers. One of these is Democratic, the other Republican. A great artist like Anderson is able to edit them both at the same time because he has despaired of solving the problems of industrial civilization, and because there is little difference between the major bourgeois parties. In his earlier books, like *Winesburg, Ohio*, and *Marching Men*, he depicted the social and psychological tragedies of American petit-bourgeois life under the pressure of monopoly capital. Later he wrestled with the problems of machine civilization. In his two autobiographical works *A Story Tellers Story* and *Tar* he betrays a deep-rooted fear and hostility toward the American machine world, and a longing for the "idyllic" time of handicrafts and "simple" villages. Despairing of the "superficial" culture of big cities, he retired to a southern village and took up the life of a country editor,

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supporting in one newspaper the activities of local Democratic politicians, and in the other of local Republican politicians, writing gossip about local farmers and small merchants and instructing them about "life." Here are some passages from his sermon on "Mind and Morals" which appeared in his Democratic newspaper:

"The whole object of education is, or should be, to develop mind. The mind should be a thing that works. It should be able to pass judgment on events that arise, make decisions . . . Morals also are largely a matter of brains. We are all driven through life by lusts. Why deny it? There is sex lust, food lust, lust for luxuries, for power. The man with good brains simply recognizes his lusts as part of his life and tries to handle them. If he is an artist he tries to divert the energy arising from his lusts into channels of beauty . . . You have a lust for money or power. To get it you will do anything. You see plenty of such men—in politics, for example. Men who will lie, cheat, steal, sell out their friend —politically, and who in other walks of life are fair enough men. Well, that is just a form of lust, too. It is political drunkeness. There are various kinds of drunkeness in this world. . . . Take the matter of drink . . . I should think a man of good sense would see it as not a moral question at all. It is a matter of good sense. If a man cannot drink without making a fool of himself and hurting others he should let drink alone. He should let anything alone he can't handle. . . . I have learned to look at my body as a house in which I must live until I die. I want it to be a fairly clean and comfortable house . . . A little decent paganism wouldn't hurt most of us. We ought to try to be less mixed about morals and a bit more clear about mind. A little more decent faith in the house in which we live—the house that is the body—less thinking about death and more about living, more self-respect."

THE NEW BEST-SELLERS

The lists of best-sellers are no longer filled by the names that were familiar five years ago; and both on the Left and on the Right (these terms will be used throughout as political categories) there is open revolt against the writers and critics who expressed the despair and disillusion of a period now definitely dead. One of the noteworthy aspects of current American literature is the tremendous sale of non-fiction. The *Outline of History*, published by H. G. Wells several years ago, was followed by outlines of science, art, literature and what not. One ambitious minor novelist has written an *Outline of Human Knowledge*, which attempts to cover all intellectual spheres, and is even more remarkable for its

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errors than its scope. There has been a flood of biographies dealing with European and American figures as well as of popular histories and scientific works. American translations of Emil Ludwig's biographies of Wilhelm II, Napoleon and Bismarck have made him a rich man, and, during his recent visit to New York, a literary lion. Two of his biographies are at this moment among the twelve best selling non-fiction works in the United States. The other ten are:

Trader Horn, an alleged autobiography of lurid and incredible African adventures, by Aloysius Smith, an old man of uncertain age who has made a fortune out of his one book and was feted like a hero by the New York intelligentsia; The *Royal Road to Romance* and *Glorious Adventure,* by Richard Haliburton: these are two 'thrilling" travel books; *We,* an "autobiography" by the aviator Lindbergh, dealing chiefly with his transatlantic flight; *What Can a Man Believe,* an attempt to explain Christianity in American business terms by Bruce Barton, an advertising expert who discovered that Jesus was just like a member of the Rotary Club and the bible like a safety-razor advertisement; *Revolt in the Desert* by the adventurer Lawrence who was the agent of the British government in Arabia during the war; The *Companionate Marriage* by Judge Lindsay, a jurist who is attempting to liberalize the sex and marriage laws; and two books by Will Durant: the *Story of Philosophy* and *Transition.*

"PHILOSOPHY" OF THE PHILISTINE

The last author deserves a few words. The popularity of his book on philosophy, which made him rich and famous overnight, reflects the present temper of the American petit-bourgeoisie. When due allowance has been made for the power of advertising and salesmanship—often the motive power behind a book's popularity in the United States—there remains the fact that no "philosopher" has so persuasively stated the self-complacency of the prosperous philistine. Durant began his career first as a Jesuit student, later as an anarchist. For ten years he lectured on philosophy and literature in the East Side section of New York, inhabited chiefly by Jewish, Italian and Russian workers. Philosophically he has always been superficial and eclectic. During the war, after coming under the spell of John Dewey, he wrote a book on *Philosophy and the Social Problem* which made no great stir. There he urged the formation and training of a ruling class selected on the basis of intellect and knowledge. It was only two years ago, when the passion for biographies and outlines became popular, that he really found himself.

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His *Story of Philosophy* is marked chiefly by anecdotes from the lives of the philosophers and by a vague skepticism. The book had a tremendous sale. Lavish advertising by his publishers convinced well-to-do housewives, immature students, and stenographers, all thirsting for "culture" to be achieved at American speed, that for five dollars they could know all about philosophy from Thales to Bertrand Russell in the time it takes to read a book of several hundred pages. Durant became not only a rich man but an important "figure." Newspapers and magazines invited him to express his opinions on current questions. One newspaper bought his services as special correspondent at a sordid and sensational murder trial, and soon afterward published his "Outline of Civilization."

Meantime Durant found himself in the predicament of all successful American authors. He became a slave of "mass production." Having told the life-story of other philosophers, he turned to his own life-story and produced the "spiritual autobiography" *Transition*. This book, which is among the best sellers, is an unbroken story of disillusion with a note of sweet acceptance at the end. Durant tells how he was disappointed in turn by Christianity, socialism, anarchism and even philosophy. It was all vanity of vanities. His one consolation at present is his wife and his little daughter Ethel; they alone, particularly little Ethel, make life intelligible and supportable. Lest it be thought that this is a caricature of Durant's thought, here are some passages from his article in the Hearst Press in which this "philosopher" discusses character and the "meaning of life."

"The ideal career," Durant says, "would combine physical with mental activity in unity or alteration. This is a luxury which few of us can afford. But let us at least mow our lawns and clip our hedges and prune our trees, and let us make any sacrifice to have a lawn and hedges and trees. Some day perhaps we shall have time for a garden. . . . To seek health and strength we may need a new environment; and it is always a consolation to reflect that though we cannot change our heredity we can alter our environment. *Are we living among unclean people or illiterates concerned only with material and edible things? Let us go off, whatever it may cost us, and seek better company . . . Better to listen to greatness than to dictate to fools.* Caesar was wrong: it is nobler to be second in Rome than to be first among barbarians." (Italics mine. —J. F.).

This advice cannot be of much use to the 30,000,000 industrial workers and 37,000,000 farmers of the United States, who are in no position to "go off" and listen to "greatness," and who have little

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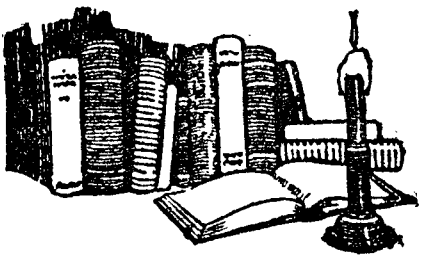
hope of entering the elegant and exclusive *ateliers* where they can be "second in Rome." But to the philistines of the middle-class it must be a great comfort to see that a famous "philosopher" who knows all about Spinoza and Kant has at last prostrated himself before the shabby idols which they have worshipped so long. Durant reaches his apotheosis in his views on marriage:

"Marry! It is better to marry than to burn, as Holy Writ has it, and enables a man to think of something else. . . We realize that however different the skirts may be, *women are substantially identical* . . . And so we become moderately content, and even learn to love our wives after a while. . . . It may be true that a married man will do anything for money (even sell his "philosophic" intellect—J.F.) but only a married man could develop such versatility."

This "thinker" has now the largest audience in the United States of any man who calls himself a philosopher, chiefly because he flatters the philistines' self-respect.

(*To be continued next month.*)



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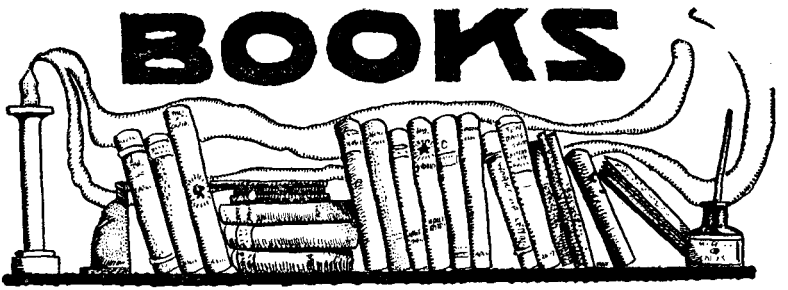

SOVIET RUSSIA IN THE SECOND DECADE. Edited by Stuart Chase, Robert Dunn and Rexford Guy Tugwell. John Day Company, 1928. 374 *pp.* $4.00.

The technical staff of the First American Trade Union Delegation which visited the Soviet Union last summer has published a thorough and detailed study of various phases, largely economic, of Soviet development, supplementing the Delegation's report, "Russia After Ten Years," issued last year by International Publishers.

The present study, or rather a series of studies, lays no claim to a unified or particularly labor point of view. In fact the authors, while on the whole more or less favorably disposed, range in viewing Soviet progress from an attitude of sympathetic approval to that of polite condemnation of the basic principles involved. But neither favorable nor unfavorable attitudes are made very explicit. One should remember that the essays in the book with one or two exceptions have been written by professors in capitalist universities and express the viewpoint of the liberal wing of the American academic world.

The economic subjects, thanks largely to the extensive Soviet statistics, proved to be the easiest to tackle. Stuart Chase and Prof. Tugwell and Prof. Douglas, especially the latter, have presented in a very interesting manner a significant body of facts on Soviet industry and agriculture and on the material condition of the workers.

Subjects of a political nature do not fare so well. Here is, for instance, the profound analysis of the reasons for the emergence of the Bolsheviki to power by Prof. J. B. Brebner who describes the historical background of the Revolution. He says that they came to power "because they knew what they wanted, they had experienced revolutionary leaders and they knew how to reduce their promises to simple slogans." All of which is true enough. However, as to what it was that they wanted, as to differences in principle between the "group" called Bolsheviks and other parties, not a word is to be found except the usual remark that "for a Bible they had the Marxian creed." There is no reference to the Social-Democratic Party (although the Social Revolutionaries come in for some attention) and to the role of the workers in the Russian revolutionary movement in general.

The special chapter on the Communist Party by Prof. Jerome Davis reveals little that is new or vital about the party which has come to power in Russia, the author's contribution to the understanding of its

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philosophy, program and background consisting largely of one quotation and a page of calendar dates. Robert Dunn's chapter on trade unions contains practically the only references to what Marxism really means.

The inability, or perhaps lack of desire, on the part of the authors to deal with subjects of a more theoretical nature is reflected also in chapters on the economic aspects of Soviet life. Little mention is made of the socialist character of the development of Soviet transportation, finance, industry and agriculture. However, the authors do not fail to emphasize the Soviet Union's tremendous achievements in increasing industrial and agricultural production to and even above the pre-war level, in creating a new financial apparatus and in establishing a well-functioning transportation system. Stuart Chase speaks with genuine enthusiasm of the work of the *Gosplan* which strives to co-ordinate the activities of the various branches of economy in order to insure uninterrupted growth with a minimum of waste. He declares, without the usual businessman's scepticism, that production is planned to increase remarkably during the next five years. Incidentally, the actual output of industry for the current year has been considerably in advance of the estimates quoted by Chase. The productive capacity of the country appears to be greater than could be foreseen in the summer of 1927.

It is to be regretted that Chase did not emphasize sufficiently the vastly important Soviet policy of industrialization, nor did he mention the spectacular successes in electrification.

Prof. Douglas, elaborating upon the analysis given in "Russia After Ten Years," shows conclusively that the material condition of Soviet workers is way above that of 1913. Since his chapter has been written, wages have shown a further increase of 12 per cent. Prof. Tugwell proves that the material condition of the peasantry has also greatly improved over that of the best pre-war year. Unfortunately, at the time of his writing he did not have the figures on distribution of crops by groups of peasants recently quoted by Stalin. These figures indicate even more strikingly the extent of the improvement in the position of the poor and middle peasants who now produce over 85 per cent of all grain in the country as compared with only 50 per cent in 1913.

The volume contains also chapters on education, (a well-rounded picture by Prof. Counts of Columbia) finance, co-operatives, foreign concessions, transportation, etc., showing that progress has been made in each of these lines. The data on the whole is quite accurate and clearly presented.

In spite of the shortcomings we have mentioned, this book contains a great deal of useful information and is worthy of the attention of all workers, if only to be read in part (see especially the chapters on the trade-union movement, labor legislation, and social insurance, wages and the material condition of workers, and on industry). The price of the book, necessarily, is too high for wide circulation among wage workers. Academic circles, on the other hand, will probably read the volume extensively and it should do them much good.

M. Munsey.

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SELF-STUDY CORNER

Leninism and War

Part II. Lessons of the World War

A. COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

On August 4, 1914, the old Second International collapsed, betraying the struggle it had pledged itself, at all of its Congresses (particularly Stuttgart, 1907), to carry on. At Basle, 1912, it had sworn to carry on the sharpest revolutionary struggle against the coming war. Now, all the Social-Democratic Parties, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party in Russia, went over to the camp of the bourgeoisie, accepted "class peace" and social patriotism.

The "left" as well as the right reformists excused this fact, and still excuse it today, ten years after the end of the war, with phrases about "mistake," "confusion," etc., or develop "justifications" such as Kautsky's, who declared that the International being an "instrument of peace" could not serve for war-time.

Lenin analyzed the objective causes of this collapse and drew political conclusions therefrom:

1. Imperialism, the last phase of capitalism, is characterized by the exploitation of over a billion colonial inhabitants by a few great powers. The extra profits accruing thereby make it possible to bribe the upper strata of the working class, the so-called labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, which becomes the bearer of capitalist influence in the ranks of the working class. Super-profits are the economic roots of opportunism.

2. The development of opportunity leads to the split of the labor movement of the whole world into a bourgeois labor or working-class party, and a real proletarian working-class party. August 4, 1914, merely tore away the veil from this "near-split."

3. On August 4, 1914, opportunism openly went over to the capitalist class and became *social chauvinism.* Unity with opportunism and chauvinism in a single party was impossible from that moment on.

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4. The Second International succumbed to opportunism and social-chauvinism and died as a working-class International. A new International was created—the Third or Communist International.

Such was Lenin's explanation of the meaning of August 4 and the political conclusions which he drew. Today *the development of opportunism has gone a step further*. It has developed from social-chauvinism to socialist fascism, and in periods of revolutionary struggle has even served as the spear-head of the struggle of the capitalist class against the working class (Noske, etc.). The outbreak of a war against the Soviet Union will find the Second International in the ranks of the agitators and fighters against the proletarian state.

B. LENINIST STRUGGLE AGAINST OPEN AND HIDDEN SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

The basic theoretical questions around which Lenin's sharpest struggle against social-chauvinism was carried on, were the nature of the war and the attitude of the working class to the question of defense of the fatherland.

1. The world war of 1914-18 was not a national but an imperialist war. During the period 1793 to 1870, many national wars were waged in Europe, bringing about the overthrow of feudalism and absolutism. The proletariat did not oppose these wars, but took part in them on the side which supported the bourgeoisie and the workers against absolutism and feudalism, e.g., the wars of the French Revolution. (Cf. the American revolution and the American Civil War, to illustrate how the working class can be in favor of wars which lead to bourgeois progress.) The social chauvinists 1914 tried to use the words of Marx about these national wars and apply them to the imperialist war of 1914 (for example, in Germany they quoted Marx on "The Struggle against Czarism" and Great Britain and France were in "a struggle against the German Empire.") In America, not merely the Gompers type, but the Russells, Wallings, Spargos, and later and more cautiously, the whole official leadership of the Socialist Party, fell for such slogans as "Battle for Democracy", "Self-Determination for Small Nations" and similar slogans. All slogans for the defense of social-patriotism and the imperialist countries were along these lines.

2. Imperialism was the cause of the war of 1914. The surface of the earth in the form of colonies, spheres of influence, etc., was completely divided amongst the great imperialist predatory powers,

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Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan and the United States. But this division was constantly being changed because of the influence and growth of these various predatory nations. The manoeuvers of economic and political development caused a continuous demand for a new division of the earth—and for a division by force of arms. This is the basis of all imperialist wars. The conflict of which Great Britain and Germany were the center in 1914 is paralleled by such conflicts for redivision of the earth between Great Britain and America in 1928. In both cases there were many other conflicts involved.

3. *What Does Defense of the Fatherland Mean for the Proletariat?* The slogan Defense of the Fatherland has meaning for the Socialist proletariat,—the defense of the Soviet Union—but the war of 1914 was an imperialist war. Defense of the fatherland in this war meant to justify imperialism and imperialist war, to go over to the capitalist class, to betray Socialism. "Defense of the Fatherland" in a real national war in the interests of the proletariat and the masses generally against imperialism, is quite another matter (for example, the national struggle against imperialism in China, in which the proletariat joined in the defense of the fatherland against foreign imperialism and is now striving to keep up and lead this struggle).

4. *The slogan "War of Defense." The Question of "Who Began It?"*

It is also possible for every imperialist power to "prove" that some other imperialist power began the war, and that it is the defender and the other side the aggressor. The proletariat cannot consider this question. The question of which imperialist power struck the first blow in 1914 is of no importance. They were all planning the war and looking for a chance to strike and let it appear that the other country had done the striking. This question only has meaning in the case of a struggle in which Great Britain or the United States would attack China or the Soviet Union.

5. *Two Types of Social-Chauvinism.*

In America, as in Europe, there were two main types of the Socialist supporters of the imperialist war and betrayers of the working-class struggle against war. There were the frank supporters of the war, like Scheidemann, Hyndman, Thomas, paralleled in America by Spargo, Russell, Walling, Ghent, etc., not to mention Gompers. They openly supported the interests of their own capitalists and imperialists, were for a fight to the finish in the "war to end war" and "to make the world safe for democracy." Then there were the social-pacifists or centrists, like Kautsky, Ramsay MacDonald, etc., in Europe, and Hillquit, Berger and the official Socialist bureaucracy in the United States. They concealed support of imperialism by pacifist and even "Marxist" and "revolutionary" phrases. Hence Lenin rightly called them the most dangerous enemies. Trotsky took the

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same stand up to the time of the February, 1917, revolution in Russia.

Today, some of the individuals of the types mentioned above have changed places. MacDonald has left all pretenses at Marxist phraseology, etc., and has openly joined the ranks of social-imperialism, but new elements express the same tendency. For example, in England, Purcell, Lansbury, Maxton, Wheatley, etc., and in the United States the pacifist wing in the Socialist Party.

C. TRANSFORMATION OF IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR

Lenin answered the slogan "Defense of the Fatherland in Imperialist War" with the revolutionary counter-slogan "Overthrow your own Government." The revolutionary proletariat must work for the defeat and overthrow of its own imperialist government in any war of reaction. In the International Congress at Stuttgart, in 1907, Rosa Luxemburg (representative of the Bolsheviks on the committee) proposed and had adopted a supplement to the manifesto the committee was drawing up, which declared that the working class must utilize the difficulties of its own government in time of war to overthrow capitalist-class rule. The only choice of the working class is revolutionary class struggle (which naturally interferes with the progress of war and is termed treason) or class peace, which means support of the imperialist war and is really treason to the working class.

Lenin declared that there is no middle way, and struggled bitterly against Trotsky's slogan: "Neither victory nor defeat." Lenin showed that this slogan is only a more subtle and concealed formulation of social-chauvinism. Another slogan of the centrists (including also Trotsky and especially popular among American Socialist leaders) was the slogan: "Peace at any Price." Lenin fought bitterly against this slogan, pointing out that "imperialist peace" is not the aim of the proletariat, nor could peace be secured by such slogans. The proletariat aims at the overthrow of imperialism and the only road to a democratic peace is through struggle against imperialism and imperialist war. Lenin's slogan was: "Not 'peace,' but transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war,"—a war for Socialism. This was the main slogan of the Bolsheviks in the struggle against the war of 1914 to 1918, and summed up all other slogans, such as "Overthrow your own government," etc. It was laughed at by all the right and "left" opportunists as Utopian. But Lenin first proved theoretically, by his analysis of imperialism, that

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economic and political conditions exist for Socialism, and it was proved practicable by the revolution of October, 1917, which justified the slogan "Transformation of the imperialist war into civil war."

Today we must carry this slogan a step further. It is not merely a question of transforming the defeat of one's own ruling class, but in the case of a war against the Soviet Union a desire *for the victory of the Soviets.*

D. FROM THE ZIMMERWALD LEFT TO THE BUILDING OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership were not satisfied with laying down a correct revolutionary program for a struggle against war, nor were they content to carry on revolutionary agitation only in Russia. They realized the necessity of carrying on an untiring struggle in the arena of the entire international labor movement for the creation of a new International, based upon this program of genuine revolutionary struggle. With this aim in view, the Bolsheviks took up in the conference in Zimmerwald, September, 1915, work for a united front against both the open social-chauvinists and the concealed ones who were carrying on their support of imperialism under pacifist slogans. But this conference was mainly composed of centrists and semi-centrist elements and rejected with horror the program of the Bolsheviks. However, the development of the war and the obvious proof furnished by the treacherous role of not only the right but also the "left" opportunists, their role of allies to imperialism, forced the Zimmerwald majority to adopt little by little the main slogans of the program of the Zimmerwald "left," which was led by the Bolsheviks. This showed itself at the Second Conference held at Kienthal, February, 1916. Up to this time the slogans of the Bolsheviks had been concealed from the masses of the Socialist movement, but the decisions of the Kienthal Congress forced the centrists to make known these slogans to the international proletariat—especially to those sections among whom these centrists and fake "lefts" had gained influence. Most of these people after the war found their way back to the social-democratic parties, but the revolutionary vanguard of the working class in all countries went with the Bolsheviks and, out of the left at Zimmerwald and Kienthal grew the Third or Communist International. This gives a splendid illustration of the Leninist united front tactics.

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Literature on the above lesson:

1. Lenin "Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism."
2. Lenin "Imperialism and the Socialist Split" (article)
3. Lenin "The Collapse of the Second International" (article)
4. Lenin "Defeat of the Home Government in an Imperialist War" (article)
5. Articles by Lenin published in the *Proletarian Revolution*, edited by Louis Fraina.
6. Articles by Lenin on war, defense, etc., in the Imprecorr.

Questions for Discussion on Lesson 2.

1. What caused the collapse of the Second International?
2. What was social-chauvinism?
3. What is the difference between a national and an imperialist war?
4. What does the phrase "Defense of the fatherland" mean to the proletariat?
5. What was the role of Kautsky and centrism during the world war? Illustrate from the history of the American Socialist Party.
6. What people today play the role of open social-chauvinists and which of concealed social-chauvinists?
7. Why did Lenin class Trotsky among Kautsky's followers during the war?
8. What was the basis for the slogan "Transformation of imperialist war into Civil War"?
9. How would this slogan be applied by the American working class in a war between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Next Month: "*Tactical Questions in the Struggle Against War.*"

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